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OUTLINES

OF

MODERN HISTORY,

CHIEFLY FROM THE FRENCH OF M. MICHELET:

SERIES I.

From the Middle of the Fifteenth to that of the Sixteenth Century.

WITH

APPENDICES, ON THE RISE AND CHARACTER

OF

The Reformation.

BY

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To the Memory

OF

A ZEALOUS COLLEAGUE, AND A LAMENTED FRIEND,

THE REVEREND GEORGE RAWLINSON,

LATE PROFESSOR OF APPLIED SCIENCE IN THE ELPHINSTONE COLLEGE.

OCI

PREFACE.

THE object and composition of this little work require a few words of explanation.

It is intended as a text-book for a course of lectures upon the momentous period of transition, which connects mediæval with modern history.

My first design was simply to translate so much of M. Michelet's able and lucid *Précis de l'Histoire Moderne* as relates to that period: but I soon felt that more was needed, even in such a text-book, than that author had supplied.

The Reformation forms the great historical question of the period over which this manual extends.

This momentous Revolution in itself demands a most minute analysis and many-sided survey, ere its true significance can be understood.

An Indian pupil, as ignorant of Christianity, as he is ill-adapted by circumstances, if not by

nature, to appreciate a great public contest of political or religious *principle*, will experience difficulties on the threshold of the inquiry, such as would never beset an European of average attainments.

Yet if history is not to be degraded into a mere chronicle of external events, and historical instruction into a pure waste of time and trouble, or a vain and pestilent display of memorial pedantry ; it is very necessary that here, as elsewhere, the student of the world's annals should aspire and strive to overcome the obstacles which attend each step of his progress, and thereby to gain an insight into the *spirit* of successive ages, diverse communities, memorable events.

I invariably endeavour, in lecturing, to facilitate this result as far as possible.

But agreeing with Horace that, in certain cases, and with a *thoughtful* reader at least, (and if history neither finds nor makes a youth thoughtful, the sooner he abandons it for some menial occupation the better),

> " Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem,
> " Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus,"

I deemed it highly advisable to incorporate in the manual itself a body of information explanatory of the origin, and general character,

especially the political and social tendency, of the Reformation, which might be perused at leisure, and save me the necessity of commencing *ab ovo*.

This I have therefore sought to do in the Appendices. The selection and preparation of some of the extracts contained in this portion of the book has cost me more trouble and thought than would be apparent at first sight, to those at least not acquainted with the original works.

In the two first Appendices the words are almost invariably those of the authors quoted; the arrangement only, and the marginal analysis, mostly my own.

For the third Appendix I am myself solely responsible, as well as for the Chapter on England under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., which I re-wrote.

So much space has been devoted to the English Reformation, because to Indian students the history of England is pre-eminently important.

Unless they are familiarised with the real import of those great convulsions, amidst which our national character and polity have been developed, they cannot hope to understand, much less to assimilate, our civilisation; to

co-operate with us, in an intelligent and honorable spirit, in promoting their own improvement, and that of their countrymen.

At the same time, no one can feel more strongly than myself, how imperfectly I have either recounted the particular events, or arranged the general scheme, of the English Reformation.

As to the former, I have confined myself to the merest and most naked outline of the leading incidents; and, reserving the fuller portraiture of them to my lectures, I have here attempted only to trace them consecutively and fairly; which is not easy, as they loom indistinctly in the distance through the murky air of controversy.

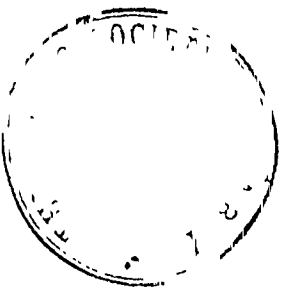
This attempt might have been more successful, had I not, when making it, been much in want of standard books for reference, as well as suffering from ill-health and mental depression.

The inherent difficulty of the subject, and my desire to be concise, and to avoid discussions strictly theological, may perhaps go far to excuse the shortcomings of Appendix III.; which (I may here observe) was originally written for this manual, though first published elsewhere.

It would be ungenerous and unfair to conclude these explanatory remarks without expressing my great obligations to Mr. Hardwick's brief but comprehensive and carefully written History.

S. O.

MALABAR HILL:
Bombay, February 1858.



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OUTLINES OF MODERN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

In the ancient history of Europe two dominant nations alternately fill the stage; there is generally unity of action and of interest. This unity, less perceptible during the middle ages, re-appears in modern history, and then displays itself chiefly in the struggles for the maintenance of the balance of power.

The line of demarcation between mediæval and modern history cannot be sharply drawn. If the former is considered to end with the last barbarian invasion (that of the Ottoman Turks), the latter will comprise three centuries and a half, from the taking of Constantinople by the Turks to the French Revolution [1453—1789].

Modern history may be distributed into three chief periods:—

I. From the taking of Constantinople to the Reformation commenced by Luther, 1453—1517.

II. From the Reformation to the Treaty of Westphalia, 1517—1648.

III. From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution, 1648—1789.

The system of the balance of power, for which the first period paved the way, is

organised during the second, and maintained during the third. The two latter periods are themselves sub-divisible into five stages of this political system:—1517—1559; 1559—1603; 1603—1648; 1648—1715; 1715—1789.

Chief Characteristics of Modern History.

1. The great states, formed by the successive annexation of feudal provinces, tend eventually to absorb the minor states, either by conquest or by matrimonial alliances. The republics are merged in the monarchies, the elective in the hereditary states. This tendency to absolute unity is held in check by the system of the balance of power. The royal intermarriages implicate Europe in the family ties and rivalry which they engender.

2. Europe tends to subjugate and civilise the rest of the world. The colonial dominion of the Europeans remains unshaken until towards the close of the eighteenth century. Importance of the great maritime powers. Commercial communication between all parts of the globe (the previous intercourse of nations had been more frequently hostile than commercial). The course of politics, which during the middle ages and up to the close of the sixteenth century had been mainly determined by the religious interest, is, among the moderns, more and more regulated by commercial considerations.

3. Opposition between the Southern and the Northern races (the former of Latin, the latter of Germanic language and culture). The Western nations of Europe promote civilisation and introduce it into the most remote

countries. The Eastern nations (mostly of Sclavonic origin) are for a long period engaged in making good the frontier of Europe against the barbarians; hence their progress in the arts of peace is more tardy. The case is the same with the Scandinavian nations, placed as they are at the outer verge of the range of European civilisation.

FIRST PERIOD.—*From the Taking of Constantinople by the Turks, to the Reformation of Luther,* 1453—1517.

This period, that of transition between mediæval and modern history, has fewer special characteristics than the two following; the interest of its events is less simple, their connection less easy to seize. Each state is still engaged in the work of internal organisation, previous to entering into more intimate relations with its neighbours. The first attempts at a systematic balance of power date from the close of this period.

The nations which have been already civilised during the middle ages, are doomed to fall before those that have retained the purely military spirit of barbarous times. The inhabitants of Provence and Languedoc have been already subdued by the French; the Moors are now conquered by the Spaniards, the Greeks by the Turks, the Italians by the Spaniards, the French, and the Germans.

Internal Condition of the Principal States.—Nations of Germanic—nations of Sclavonic origin. Among the former, in which alone the feudal system, strictly speaking, prevails, the progress of wealth and industry has created a

body of free citizens, who support the sovereigns against the aristocracy.

In the middle of the fifteenth century feudalism has triumphed over the Empire; it subjects the Castilian sovereigns to frequent humiliations; prolongs its independence in Portugal (engrossed as that kingdom is with wars and African discoveries); in the three Northern kingdoms, a prey to anarchy ever since the union of Calmar; in England, favoured by the wars of the Roses; at Naples, lastly, amidst the contentions of the houses of Aragon and Anjou. But in Scotland the kings are already assailing it; in France, Charles VII., after triumphing over the English, paves the way, by his institutions, for its overthrow: and before the end of the century the reigns of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Ferdinand the Bastard, of John II. (of Portugal), of Henry VII. and of Louis XI. will erect the fabric of royal power upon the ruins of feudalism.

Three states are not included in this sketch. When the other states are tending to monarchical unity, Italy continues disunited. The power of the Dukes of Burgundy reaches its height and collapses, whilst the military republic of the Swiss gains ground.

The two great Sclavonic nations exhibit an opposition that prefigures their future course. Russia becomes united, and emerges from barbarism. Poland, amidst the changes of her constitution, faithfully retains the anarchical forms of a barbarous government.

Reciprocal Relations of the Principal States. —The European commonwealth has lost that

unity of impulse which religion imparted to it in the age of the Crusades; neither is it as yet sharply divided, as it will be by the Reformation. It is distributed at present into several groups, which are determined as much by the geographical position, as by the political relations, of the states severally composing them: England with Scotland and France; Aragon with Castile and Italy; Italy and Germany (directly or indirectly) with all the other states; Turkey is connected with Hungary; the latter with Bohemia and Austria; Poland forms the common bond between the East and the North, in which it is the ruling power. The three kingdoms of the North and Russia form two separate systems. The Western states, torn, for the most part, by internal dissensions, are not disturbed by foreign wars. In the North, Sweden, forcibly connected for the last sixty years with Denmark, dissolves the union of Calmar; Russia frees herself from the yoke of the Tartars; the Teutonic Order becomes the vassal of Poland. All the Eastern states are threatened by the Turks, who, since the capture of Constantinople, have left nothing to fear in their rear, and are checked only by the Hungarians. The Emperor, engaged in founding the greatness of his house; Germany, in repairing the evils produced by political and religious wars, seem forgetful of the impending danger.

We may keep the history of the East and of the North separate, and thus follow without interruption the vicissitudes of the Western states. We then see England, Portugal, but especially Spain and France, assume an imposing

greatness, either by their conquests in the countries recently discovered, or by the concentration of the entire national force in the hands of the sovereigns. Italy is the field in which these newly acquired powers are destined to exert themselves in an obstinate struggle. We must accordingly trace how Italy was thrown open to the strangers, before we witness the commencement of the contest, of which she is doomed to be the scene, during the present and the following period.*

SECOND PERIOD. *From the Reformation to the Treaty of Westphalia,* 1517—1648.

The second period of modern history opens with the rivalry between Francis I., Charles V., and Soliman; its special characteristic is the Reformation. The house of Austria, whose

* The limits of this outline preclude our describing the progress of civilisation in concert with that of political history. We shall confine ourselves here to noting its starting point in the fifteenth century.

Impulse given to the spirit of invention and discovery. In literature the enthusiasm for classical studies for some time arrests the development of modern originality. The invention of printing (1436—1452). The more frequent use of gunpowder, and of the compass. The discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. Maritime commerce, hitherto centred in the Baltic (the Hanseatic League) and in the Mediterranean (Venice, Genoa, Florence, Barcelona, Marseilles) is diffused over every sea by the voyages of Columbus, of Gama, &c., and, towards the close of this period, passes into the hands of the Western nations. Land traffic; the *Lombard merchants*; the Low Countries, and the Free Towns of Germany, the great marts of the North and of the South. Manufacturing industry of the same nations, and particularly of the Low Countries.

colossal power alone availed to keep the Turks from overrunning Europe, seems to have defended, only in order to enslave, it. But Charles V. encounters a triple obstacle to this project. Francis I. and Soliman engage in war with the Emperor from motives of personal ambition, and save the independence of Europe. When Francis I. has wasted his strength, he is supported by Soliman, and Charles finds a new impediment in the German Protestant League. *This is the first stage of the Reformation, and of the system of the balance of power*, 1517—1550.

1550—1600. *Second Stage of the Reformation and of the Political System.*—The Reformation has already spread in Europe, and particularly in France, in England, in Scotland, and in the Netherlands. Spain, the only Western country which has not admitted it, declares against it; Phillip II. seeks to restore the religious unity of Europe, and to extend his dominion over the nations of the West. Throughout the whole of the second period, and especially in this age, the wars are foreign and civil at the same time.

1600—1648. *Third Stage of the Political System and of the Reformation.*—The Reform movement finally induces two simultaneous but independent results: a revolution ending in a civil war, and a war which presents to Europe the aspect of a revolution, or rather of a civil war throughout the European commonwealth. In England the Reforming party having triumphed splits into contending factions. In Germany the Reformation involves the whole nation in the vortex of a thirty years' war. Out of this chaos emerges the regularly organised system

of political equilibrium, which is to maintain its ground throughout the following period.

The Eastern and Northern states are no longer excluded from the Western system, as in the preceding period. During its first stage Turkey throws its weight into the European scale; during the third, Sweden interposes, in a still more decisive manner, in the affairs of the West. As early as the second, Livonia brings the Sclâvonic into contact with the Scandinavian states, with which they had not hitherto been in relation.

At the commencement of this period the sovereigns concentrate in their own hands all the national energies, and offer their subjects internal repose and distant conquests in compensation for their privileges. Commerce is immensely extended, in spite of the system of monopoly of which the same epoch witnesses the formation.

THIRD PERIOD.—*From the Treaty of Westphalia to the French Revolution*, 1648—1789.

During this period, the great lever of events is a purely political one—*the maintenance of the balance of power*. It is divisible into two portions, of about seventy years each: those, respectively, previous and subsequent to the death of Louis XIV., 1648—1715, and 1715—1789.

I. 1648—1715. *Fourth Stage of the Balance of Power.*—At the commencement of the third, as at that of the second period, the independence of Europe is imperilled. France now occupies the political pre-eminence which Spain

formerly asserted, and employs, besides, the influence of a higher form of civilisation. So long as Louis XIV. is opposed only to Spain, a state already declining, to Holland, an exclusively maritime power, and to the Empire, torn by diplomatic contentions, he dictates laws to Europe. At length England, under a second William of Orange, resumes the part which she has already played in the time of Elizabeth, that of principal in the quarrel against the preponderant power. In concert with Holland, she annihilates the pretensions of France to the empire of the seas. In conjunction with Austria, she restricts her within her natural limits, but cannot prevent her establishing a branch of the house of Bourbon on the Spanish throne.

Sweden is the leading Northern power. Under two conquering rulers she twice changes the political aspect of the North, but is too weak to secure a lasting supremacy. Russia checks her progress, and secures and retains this supremacy.

Except the old standing alliance of Sweden with France, the Northern have little other connection with the Southern European states.

II. 1715—1789. *Fifth Stage of the Balance of Power.*—The first years of the eighteenth century are marked by the rise of the new kingdoms of Prussia and Sardinia. Prussia is destined, in connection with England, to be the arbiter of the fate of Europe, whilst France is exhausted, and Russia has not yet reached the maturity of her strength.

In the eighteenth century the powers are less

unequally matched than before. The strongest being an insular and essentially maritime people, has no other continental interest than to maintain the political balance. Such accordingly is her line in the three wars between the Western states of the continent. Austria, sovereign of the greater part of Italy, might overturn the scale, but is prevented, by her ally England allowing her to be deprived of Naples, which becomes an independent kingdom. France seeks to dismember Austria; England maintains the existence of that state, but suffers Prussia to weaken her, and becomes her rival. Austria and France plot the destruction of Prussia; England assists her as she has already assisted Austria, directly by her subsidies, indirectly by her naval war with France.

At sea and in the colonies England disturbs the balance. The colonial wars, which form one of the characteristic features of this century, give her the opportunity of ruining the navies of France and Spain, and of asserting a vexatious authority over the neutral states. A most unexpected revolution shakes the stability of this colossal power. England is deprived of her most important colonies; but she presents a bold front to all her enemies, lays in the East the foundation of an empire as vast as that which she loses in the West, and remains mistress of the seas.

Russia gains strength, both by her internal progress and by the anarchy of her neighbours. She creates frequent disturbances in Sweden, plunders Turkey, absorbs Poland, and pushes her way in Europe. The group of Northern

states becomes more and more closely blended with that of the Southern and Western states. The revolutions and the sanguinary wars which are, at the close of the third period, about to break out, will merge all the European states in one single political system.

FIRST PERIOD.

[1453—1517.]

CHAPTER I.

ITALY.—TURKISH WAR, 1453—1494.

Brilliant condition of Italy: Venice, Florence, Rome, &c.—Her real degeneracy: The Condottieri, Tyrannies and Conspiracies, Machiavellian policy.—Her threatened subjugation: The Turks, the Spaniards, the French, the Capture of Constantinople, 1453.—Attempt of John of Calabria on the Kingdom of Naples, 1460—1464.—Diversions created by the Albanian Scanderbeg, by Hunniades, and by Matthias Corvinus in Hungary.—Projected Crusade prevented by the death of Pius II., 1464.—Venice invites the Turks into Italy; the taking of Otranto, 1480.—The Venetians summon René of Anjou.—The Pope, the Swiss.—Savanarola predicts the conquest of Italy.

ITALY: VENICE.—Amidst the feudal barbarism of which the fifteenth century still bore trace, Italy exhibited the spectacle of a civilisation already mature. She impressed strangers by the venerable authority of religion, and by the splendid appliances of opulence and of art. The Frenchman or the German who crossed the Alps, admired in Lombardy the scientific agriculture, the canals without number that converted the valley of the Po into one vast garden. He beheld, standing out from among her lagunes, the wonderful city of Venice, with her palaces of marble, and her arsenal, which was said to give employment to fifty thousand

workmen. Three or four thousand vessels every year quitted her ports; some for Oran, Cadiz, and Bruges, others for Egypt or Constantinople. Venice *the Imperial*, as she termed herself, exercised, through her agents, almost exclusive control in all the harbours that stud the coast of the Mediterranean, from the innermost recesses of the Adriatic to those of the Black Sea.

FLORENCE—ROME.—Farther on, the traveller encountered Florence, the fosterer of genius —Florence, who, under Cosmo or Lorenzo, still believed herself to be a republic. The Medici at once princes and citizens, merchants and men of letters, received by the same vessels the tissues of Alexandria and the manuscripts of Greece. At the same time that, through the labours of Ficinus, they were reviving Platonism, they employed Brunelleschi to rear that dome of Santa Maria, near which Michael Angelo wished his tomb to be placed. The same enthusiasm for literature and the arts prevailed in the courts of Milan, of Ferrara, and of Mantua, of Urbino, and of Bologna. The Spanish conqueror of the kingdom of Naples followed the bent of the Italians, and made the concession of a fine manuscript of Livy the sole condition of his reconciliation with Cosmo de Medici. Lastly, at Rome, classic lore itself was, in the persons of Nicholas V. and Pius II., installed in the chair of St. Peter. This universal literary culture seemed to have rendered men's minds more tender and humane. In the most bloody battle of the fifteenth century, the slain did not amount to a thousand. Hostile encounters were now little more than tournaments.

CONDOTTIERI.—Yet an attentive observer easily discerns the decline of Italy. This apparent refinement indicated, in reality, only the effeminacy of the national character. Their bloodlessness made the wars only the longer, and the more ruinous. The Condottieri marched across the length and breadth of Italy undisciplined troops, ever ready to join the standard of their opponents for the most trifling increase of pay; war had become a profitable game between the Piccinini and the Sforzas. Petty tyrants, applauded by the learned and detested by the people, abounded. Literature, the pride and the glory of Italy, had lost the originality which had characterised it in the fourteenth century; to the Dantes and Petrarchs had succeeded the Filélfi and the Pontani. Nowhere was religion more entirely lost sight of. Nepotism afflicted the church, and deprived her of popular reverence. The usurper of the domains of the Holy See, Sforza, captain of hired bandits, was in the habit of dating his letters "*From Firmium* ———, *ours, in spite of Peter and Paul.*"

CONSPIRACIES.—The expiring genius of Italian liberty still protested in hopeless conspiracies. Porcaro, who believed that Petrarch's verses had predicted his advent, endeavoured to re-establish republican government in Rome. At Florence, the Pazzi, at Milan, the young Olgiati, with two companions, stabbed Julian de Medici and Galeas Sforza in a church [1476—1478]. These infatuated men imagined that the liberty of their degenerate country could be repurchased by the life of an individual!

LORENZO DE MEDICI—STATE INQUISITORS, 1454.—The governments of Florence and of Venice were considered the wisest in Italy. Lorenzo de Medici had his poetry publicly recited to the Florentines, conducted in person through the streets of the city pedantic and sumptuous masquerades, and blindly gave himself up to the regal munificence that claimed the admiration of literary men, and entailed upon Florence public bankruptcy. At Venice, on the contrary, the government appeared to act only from the most cold-blooded sense of self-interest. There were found no favourites, no fickleness, no extravagance. But this rule of iron maintained itself only by securing more thoroughly the unity of its agency. The tyranny of the Ten fell short of the present requirement; it became necessary to choose, within this council itself, State Inquisitors [1454]. This dictatorship rendered the republic externally successful, but sapped the internal sources of her prosperity. From 1423 to 1453, Venice had added four provinces to her territory, while her revenues were diminishing by more than 100,000 ducats. In vain she resorted to sanguinary expedients in hopes of retaining the resources that were gliding from her grasp; the time was not far distant when Italy was to lose at once her commerce, her riches, and her independence. A new barbarian invasion was required to despoil her of the monopoly of commerce and of the arts, that were to be henceforth the inheritance of the world.

THE TURKS, THE FRENCH, THE SPANIARDS.—Who were to be the conquerors of Italy? The

Turks, the French, or the Spaniards? No foresight could decide such a question. The Popes and the majority of the Italians held the Turks in the liveliest dread. The great Sforza and Alfonso the Magnanimous thought only of excluding the French from Italy, who already laid claim to Naples and might make pretensions to Milan. Venice, believing herself impregnable in her lagunes, treated indifferently with either party, sometimes sacrificing to subordinate interests her own honour and the security of Italy.

CONSTANTINOPLE, 1453.—Such was the condition of this country when she heard Constantinople's last cry of anguish. Already separated from Europe both by the Turks and by the religious schism, this ill-fated city beheld beneath her walls an army of 300,000 barbarians. At this critical moment, the inhabitants of the West, accustomed to the lamentations of the Greeks, now paid but little attention to them. Charles VII. was completing the expulsion of the English; Hungary was in a state of internal agitation; the impassive Frederick III. was engaged in erecting Austria into an Arch-Duchy. The Genoese already in possession of Pera, the Venetians, of Galata, were calculating the amount of the loss they would sustain, instead of taking measures to avert it. Genoa sent four vessels; Venice discussed the policy of renouncing her Italian conquests, for the purpose of retaining her colonies and her commerce. Amidst this fatal inaction, Italy saw the fugitives from Constantinople land on all her coasts. Their accounts filled Europe with shame and terror; they deplored the conversion of St.

Sophia into a mosque, the sack and depopulation of Constantinople, the forcible enslavement of 60,000 Christians; they described the prodigious artillery of Mahomet, and the moment when the Greeks, as they arose from their slumbers, beheld the galleys of the infidels traversing the solid earth and descending into their harbour.

JOHN OF CALABRIA, 1460—1464.—Europe at length aroused herself; Nicholas V. preached the Crusade; all the Italian States united in a general reconciliation at Lodi [1454]. In other countries, great numbers took the cross. At Lille, the Duke of Burgundy exhibited, at a banquet, the emblem of the disconsolate Church, and, according to the rites of chivalry, swore before God, the Virgin, the ladies, and the *pheasant*, that he would march against the infidels. But this ardour was of brief duration; nine days after having signed the treaty of Lodi, the Venetians ratified one with the Turks; Charles VII. would not permit the preaching of the Crusade at all in France; the Duke of Burgundy remained in his own dominions, and the fresh attempt of John of Calabria on the kingdom of Naples engrossed the attention of Italy [1460—1464].

SCANDERBEG.—The true, the sole champions of Christendom were the Hungarian Hunniades and the Albanian Scanderbeg. The latter, whose barbaric heroism recalled the feats of a mythical age, was said to fell a wild bull at a single blow. Like Alexander, after whom the Turks named him, he had been seen to spring alone upon the ramparts of a besieged city. Ten years after his death, the Turks divided his

bones amongst themselves, as a talisman of victory. Even to this day the name of Scanderbeg is celebrated in songs amidst the mountains of Epirus.

HUNNIADES, 1456. MATTHIAS CORVINUS.—The other *Soldier of Jesus Christ*, the *White Knight* of Wallachia, the *Fiend* (as the Turks esteemed him), arrested their progress, whilst the diversions of Scanderbeg compelled them to retrace their steps. When the Ottomans attacked Belgrade, the bulwark of Hungary, Hunniades forced his way through the infidel host to throw himself into the place, repulsed for forty days the most furious assaults, and was celebrated as the saviour of Christendom [1456]. His son, Matthias Corvinus, whom the gratitude of the Hungarians raised to the throne, opposed to the Janissaries of Mahomet II. his *Black Guard*, the first regular infantry possessed by this nation. The reign of Matthias was the glory of Hungary. Whilst he alternately engaged the Turks, the Germans, and the Poles, he founded in his capital a university, two academies, an observatory, a museum of antiquities, and a library, at that time the largest in the world. Like his rival Mahomet II. he spoke several languages; like him too, he had a taste for literature, while he retained the barbarian mode of life.

He is said to have accepted the offer of a man who undertook to assassinate his father-in-law, the king of Bohemia; but he indignantly rejected the project of poisoning him: "Against my enemies," said he, "I will use cold steel only." Yet it is to him that the Hungarians are indebt-

ed for their great charter (*Decretum Majus*, 1485, see Chap. III.) A Hungarian proverb is his best eulogy:—"Since Corvinus' reign justice has been no more."

Pius II., 1464.—Pope Pius II. and Venice formed a league with this great prince, when the Turkish conquest of Servia and Bosnia opened to the Infidels the approach to Italy. The Pontiff was the life and soul of the Crusade; he had appointed Ancona as the *rendezvous* of those who were willing to march with him against the enemy of the faith. The able Secretary of the Council of Basle, the most cultivated intellect of the age, the subtlest of diplomatists, became a hero when raised to the throne of St. Peter. The sublime idea of saving Christendom, seemed to have endowed him with a new soul. But his physical energies were unequal to the effort. The venerable man breathed his last on the sea coast, in sight of the Venetian fleet that was to have transported him to Greece [1464].

Paul II. Venice tributary to the Turks, 1479.—His successor, Paul II., abandoned this generous policy. He armed, against the heretical Bohemians, the son-in-law of their king, the same Matthias Corvinus, whose valour ought to have been exerted against the Turks alone. Whilst the Christians were thus mutually weakening themselves by their divisions, Mahomet II. solemnly swore in the mosque, formerly St. Sophia, the extermination of Christianity. Venice, abandoned by her allies, lost the island of Negropont, reduced by the Turks within sight of her fleet. In vain Paul II.

and the Venetians explored even the recesses of Persia in search of allies; the Shah was defeated by the Turks, and the capture of Caffa intercepted for a long period the European communications with Persia. At length, the Turkish cavalry scoured the country of Friuli as far as the Piave, burning the crops, the trees, the villages, and the palaces of the Venetian nobles; at night the flames of this conflagration were visible even from Venice. The republic abandoned the unequal contest, which, for fifteen years, she had been maintaining single-handed; sacrificed Scutari, and consented to pay a tribute [1479].

DEATH OF MAHOMET II., 1480–81.—Pope Sixtus IV. and Ferdinand, king of Naples, neither of whom had afforded any assistance to Venice, accused her of having betrayed the cause of Christendom. After having favoured the conspiracy of the Pazzi, and afterwards made open war on the Medici, they directed their restless policy against the Venetians. Venice took cruel vengeance. At the same time that Mahomet II. was directing an attack upon Rhodes, tidings were received that a hundred Turkish ships, observed, or rather escorted, by the Venetian fleet, had passed into Italy, that Otranto had been already taken, and its governor sawn asunder. The panic was at its height, and the event would, perhaps, have justified it, had not the death of the Sultan arrested, for a time, the career of Mahometan conquest [1480–81].

SAVANAROLA.—Thus the Italians themselves brought about the interposition of strangers in

their domestic quarrels. After having attracted the Turks, the Venetians took into their service the young René, Duke of Lorraine, heir to the rights of the house of Anjou over the kingdom of Naples. As early as 1474 Sixtus IV. had called in the Swiss. The *Barbarians* became habituated to crossing the Alps, and they returned to descant, in their own country, upon the wonders of fair Italy; some celebrated her luxury and wealth; others her climate, her wines, her delicious fruits. At this crisis was raised in Florence the prophetic voice of the Dominican Savanarola, who denounced upon Italy the chastisements of Babylon and of Nineveh:—"O Italy! O Rome! saith the Lord, I will deliver you into the hands of a people who shall blot you out from among the nations. The barbarians, hungry as lions, shall come upon you. And you shall die, so many, that the grave-diggers shall go along the streets, crying, Who hath any dead? and then one shall bring out his father, and another his son. O Rome, I bid you again, repent, repent, O Venice! O Milan!" They heeded him not. The king of Naples, by a treacherous treaty secured his turbulent nobles. Genoa still continued a prey to the factions of the Adorni and the Fregosi. Lorenzo de Medici, on his deathbed, refused the absolution, that Savanarola made conditional upon his restoring Florence to freedom. At Milan, Louis the Moor placed his nephew in confinement, preparatory to poisoning him. Roderic Borgia assumed the tiara under the name of Alexander VI. The inevitable moment had arrived.

CHAPTER II.

THE WEST.—FRANCE AND THE NETHERLANDS, ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL, IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

The great Western powers could not enter upon the contest for the possession of Italy until they had emerged from feudal anarchy, and combined the several elements of national strength in the hands of the sovereigns. The present chapter is devoted to the triumph of monarchical power over feudalism. Along with feudalism perished the privileges and the liberties of the middle age. These liberties perished, like those of the ancients, because they *were* privileges; civil equality could only be securely established through the triumph of royalty.*

This revolution had been effected by churchmen and lawyers. Amidst the universal prevalence, during the middle ages, of the hereditary principle, the Church had supplied the members of her hierarchy solely by election; and thus raised the conquered over the heads of the conquerors, the sons of citizens, and even of

* Equality makes rapid progress at the very time when the political liberties of the middle age are being destroyed. Those of Spain are overthrown by Charles V. in 1521, and in 1528 the Castilian Cortes grant permission to all orders to wear the sword, "that the citizens may be able to defend themselves against the nobles."

serfs, above nobles. It was from her that the kings sought ministers in their last great struggle against the aristocracy. Duprat, Wolsey, and Ximenes, all cardinals and prime ministers, were of obscure origin. Ximenes had commenced his career by teaching law in his own house. The churchmen and the legists were most familiar with the principles of the Roman code, which was much more favourable than the feudal usages to monarchical power and civil equality. This revolution was not entirely uniform in the different states. In England, it is prepared and accelerated by a terrible war, which almost exterminates the nobility; in Spain, it is complicated by the conflict of religious creeds. But everywhere, its real character is the same: the aristocracy worsted by the royal power, attempts to shake it by a change of dynasty, by overthrowing the families, or their ruling branches, and substituting hostile houses, or rival branches. Both parties resort to hateful and frequently atrocious measures. Statesmanship, as yet in its infancy, alternates simply between violence and treachery; we shall presently notice the deaths of the Earls of Douglas, of the Dukes of Braganza and Vesen, above all those of the Earl of Mar and of the Dukes of Clarence and Guienne. Posterity, however, dazzled by success, has over-estimated the abilities of the princes of this age (Louis XI., Ferdinand the Bastard, Henry VII., Ivan III., &c.) The ablest of them all, Ferdinand the Catholic, is, in the eyes of Machiavelli, but a lucky rogue.

Section I.—France, 1452—1494.

Close of the English Wars.—Feudalism; Houses of Burgundy, Brittany, Anjou; Albret, Foix, Armagnac, &c. Greatness of the Duke of Burgundy.—Advantages possessed by the King of France; first permanent tax; first standing army, 1444.—Death of Charles VII. Accession of Louis XI., 1461.—Death of Philip The Good; Duke of Burgundy; Accession of Charles the Bold, 1467.—League for the "Public Weal." Treaties of Conflans and of St. Maur, 1465.—Interview of Peronne and captivity of the King, 1468.—Second League of the Great Vassals, dissolved by the death of the Duke of Guienne, brother of Louis, 1472.—Invasion of Edward IV. Treaty of Péquigny, 1475.—Charles the Bold becomes involved with the Germans, then with the Swiss; his defeats at Granson and Morat, 1476. His death, 1477.—Mary of Burgundy marries Maximilian of Austria.—Louis XI. recovers possession of Anjou, Maine, Provence, Artois, and Franche-Comté, 1481-82. His death; Regency of Anne of Beaujeu, 1483.—Pretensions of the States-General, 1484. Humiliation of the Nobles.—Charles VIII. prepares to march into Italy.

State of France.—When the retreat of the English enabled France to take a survey of her internal condition, the husbandmen, quitting the castles and fortified towns in which the war had confined them, found their fields untilled and their villages in ruins. The Free Companies continued to infest the roads, and to levy contributions on the peasant. The feudal lords, who had recently assisted Charles VII. in expelling the English, exercised sovereignty over their own domains, and recognised no law, human or divine. A Count of Armagnac entitled himself "Count by the grace of God," hanged the emissaries of the Parliament, married his own sister, and beat his confessor, when he refused to give him absolution. For three years

the brother of the Duke of Brittany had been seen begging his bread from the passers-by through the bars of his prison, until his brother had him strangled.

Power of the Great Vassals.—The hopes of the poor people were directed to the king, and from him they awaited some alleviation of their wretchedness. The feudal system, which, in the tenth century, had been the salvation of Europe, had become its scourge. Since the English wars this system appeared to have been recovering its ancient strength. Not to mention the Counts of Albret, of Foix, of Armagnac, and so many other lords, the houses of Burgundy, of Brittany, and of Anjou rivalled the royal family in splendour and in power.

The county of Provence, the inheritance of the house of Anjou, was, to a certain extent, a centre for the Southern, as was Flanders for the Northern, populations; rich as was its own territory, it included also Anjou, Maine, and Lorraine, thus encircling on all sides the royal domains. The spirit of the antique chivalry seemed to have taken refuge in this heroic family; the world rang with the exploits and the misfortunes of King René and of his family. Whilst his daughter, Margaret of Anjou, was maintaining in ten battles the rights of the Red Rose, John of Calabria, his son, won and lost the kingdom of Naples, and died at the very moment when the enthusiasm of the Catalans was raising him to the throne of Aragon. Such lofty aspirations, such remote wars, impaired the power of this family in France. The character of its head was, moreover, little adapted

to sustain an obstinate struggle against the royal power. The worthy René, in his latter years, confined his attention to pastoral poetry, to painting, and to astrology. When he was informed of Louis XI. having deprived him of Anjou, he was painting a fine partridge, and quietly pursued his task. The real head of the feudal party was the Duke of Burgundy. This prince, wealthier than any European sovereign, united under his rule French provinces and German states, a countless host of nobles, and the most commercial cities of Europe. Ghent and Liège could each of them raise a force of 40,000 men. But this mighty power was composed of elements too diverse to harmonise properly. The Dutch would render no obedience to the Flemings, nor the latter to the Burgundians. An implacable hostility subsisted between the noble lords of the castles, and the people who dwelt in the mercantile towns. These rich and haughty cities possessed at once the violence of the feudal character, and the industrial spirit of modern times. Immediately the privileges of Ghent were in the least degree impinged upon, the masters of the trading companies sounded the alarm bell of Roland, and planted their banners in the market-place. The Duke then mounted on horseback, surrounded by his nobles, and battles were fought, and torrents of blood shed, ere the tumult could be appeased.

Resources of the King.—The king of France, on the contrary, was generally supported by the towns. In his domains, the lower were much better protected than elsewhere against the higher classes. It was a citizen,

who had lent him the money necessary for re-conquering Normandy. The king everywhere restrained the lawless habits of the soldiery. As early as the year 1441, he had rid the kingdom of the "Free Companies," by sending them against the Swiss, who gave them their deserts at the battle of St. James. At the same time, he founded the Parliament of Toulouse, gave that of Paris jurisdiction over a wider range of country, in spite of the Duke of Burgundy's protests, and restricted the authority of all the feudal courts. The nobility, when they saw an Armagnac banished, an Alençon imprisoned, the "Bastard of Bourbon" thrown into the Aube, learnt that no rank placed any man above the laws. So salutary a revolution induced ready and confident acquiescence in every innovation favourable to the royal power. Charles VII. formed a standing army of 1,500 lances, established the militia force of "Free Archers," whose duty it was to remain at their own homes, but to turn out for practice on Sundays; he imposed upon the people a permanent tax unauthorised by the States-General, and no complaints were heard [1444].

The higher class themselves contributed to enhance the royal authority, the exercise of which they alternately directed. Those who had no control over the king compensated themselves by intriguing with the Dauphin and inciting him to oppose his father. An entire change took place when Charles VII. expired, worn out by the anxiety that his son, then a refugee in Burgundy, had given him [1461]. At the king's funeral, Dunois exclaimed to the

whole assembled nobility, "The king, our master, is dead; let every one take care of his own interests."

Louis XI. 1461.—Louis XI. had none of that chivalrous temperament that led the French to look with indulgence on so many of his father's failings. He preferred diplomacy to war, dressed meanly, and surrounded himself with men of the lower orders. He employed a footman as herald, a barber as gentleman of the bedchamber, called the Provost Tristan his boon companion. In his impatience to humble the great, he dismisses, immediately after his accession, the whole ministry of Charles VII., by annulling the Pragmatic Sanction; he deprives the feudal lords of all influence in ecclesiastical elections; he irritates the Duke of Brittany, by endeavouring to deprive him of his rights of sovereignty; the Count of Charolais, son of the Duke of Burgundy, by redeeming from his father the towns on the Somme, and by seeking to cancel the cession that had been made to him of Normandy; lastly, he sows discontent among the whole body of the nobles, by entirely disregarding their right of chase, an offence to which a gentleman of that time was perhaps more sensitive than to any other.

League for the Public Weal.—The aristocratic outbreak was repressed until the failing health of the Duke of Burgundy had placed the entire authority in the hands of his son, the Count of Charolais, since so celebrated under the name of Charles the Bold. Duke John of Calabria, the Duke of Bourbon, the Duke of Nemours, the Count of Armagnac, the Lord of

Albret, Count Dunois, and many other noblemen, then entered into a "*league for the public weal*" with the Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolais. They came to an understanding, through their emissaries, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame at Paris, and adopted a shoulder knot of red silk as the badge of their alliance. To this almost universal confederacy of the nobles, the king endeavoured to oppose the towns, and especially Paris. In the latter place he abolished almost all imports, provided himself with a council of burgesses and of members of the Parliament and of the University; he entrusted the queen to the guardianship of the Parisians, and determined that she should undergo her confinement in their city, "which," he declared, "he loved more than any other in the world." The attack of the confederates was ill-concerted. Louis XI. had time to crush the Duke of Bourbon. The Duke of Brittany did not form a junction with the main army, until after the battle of Montlhéri. Since the expulsion of the English, warlike conduct had been so completely forgotten, that each army, with the exception of a few troops, went off from its own side of the field in flight.

The king then made insidious overtures, and the impending dissolution of the league decided its members to entertain them (at Conflans and at St. Maur, 1465.) The king granted all they demanded; to his brother, Normandy, a province which alone contributed a third of the king's revenues; to the Count of Charolais, the towns on the Somme; to all the others, strongholds, lordships, and pensions. That the

"Public Weal" might not appear to be entirely overlooked, a formal stipulation was made, that an assembly of notables should deliberate upon it. Most of the remaining articles were as unfaithfully executed as this last; the king availed himself of a rising against the Duke, at Liège and at Dinant, to recover Normandy, induced the States-General assembled at Tours [1466] to annul the chief stipulations of the treaty of Conflans, and compelled the Duke of Brittany to renounce the alliance of the Count of Charolais, now become Duke of Burgundy.

INTERVIEW AT PERONNE, 1468.—Louis XI. who still hoped to gain over the latter by his address, went in person in quest of him, to Peronne. Hardly had he arrived there, when the Duke received tidings of the revolt of Liège, excited against himself by the agents of the king of France. The insurgents had made Louis of Bourbon, their Bishop, prisoner, massacred the Archdeacon, and, in horrible sport, tossed his limbs about from one to another. Such was the fury of the Duke of Burgundy, that the king, for an instant, feared for his own life. Within the circuit of the Castle of Peronne, he saw the tower in which the Count of Vermandois had formerly put to death Charles the Simple. He escaped on easier terms. The Duke satisfied himself with compelling him to confirm the Treaty of Conflans, and to march in the Burgundian army against Liège, to witness the destruction of that city. The king, on his return to France, did not fail to cause the States-General to cancel, for the second time, all the articles to which he had just sworn.

DEATH OF THE DUKE OF GUIENNE, 1472.—A confederacy was at this time formed against him, more formidable than that "for the Public Weal." His brother, to whom he had recently ceded Guienne, and the Dukes of Brittany and of Burgundy, had drawn into it most of the nobles who had previously been faithful to the sovereign. They invited into France the king of Aragon, John II., who claimed Rousillon, and the king of England, Edward IV., brother-in-law of the Duke of Burgundy, and who felt the expediency of confirming his rule, by giving employment abroad to the restless spirit of the English. The Duke of Brittany took no pains to conceal the views of the confederates. "I love so dearly," said he, "the welfare of the kingdom of France, that instead of one, I would have six kings." Louis XI. could not hope, on this occasion, for the support of the towns which he was overwhelming with taxes. His brother's death could alone break up the league: his brother died. The king, who took pains to keep himself informed of the progress of the disorder, ordered public prayers for the recovery of the Duke of Guienne, and advanced troops to occupy his dominions. He stopped the proceedings that had been commenced against the monk who was suspected of having poisoned the prince, and spread a report that the devil had strangled him in prison.

EDWARD IV.'S DESCENT UPON FRANCE, 1475.—Thus rid of his brother, Louis XI. repulsed John II. from Rousillon, Charles the Bold from Picardy, and secured himself against all his internal enemies: against the Duke of Alençon,

by imprisoning him [1472]; king René, by depriving him of Anjou [1474]; the Duke of Bourbon, by giving Anne of France in marriage to his brother [1473-74]; and by nominating the Duke himself his lieutenant in several provinces of the South [1475]; lastly, against the Count of Armagnac, and Charles Albert [1473]; against the Duke of Nemours and the Constable of St. Paul [1475-77], by putting them all four to death. But the greatest danger was yet to come. The king of England disembarked at Calais, making the customary claim to "his kingdom of France." The English nation had entered upon this war with spirit. "The king of England had in his army," says Comines, "ten or twelve men, tall and stout, both from London and from other towns, the chiefs of the English commonalty, and who had undertaken to engage in this expedition, and to levy this powerful army." Instead of receiving the English on their arrival, and directing their motions in this country, with which they were so little acquainted, the Duke of Burgundy had marched on a warlike enterprise into Germany. Meanwhile the weather was bad: although Edward "took care to have the Commons' men, who had followed him, quartered in a good tent, this was not at all the life to which they had been accustomed; they were soon heartily tired of it; they had thought, that, when once they had crossed the sea, they should have had a battle in three days at farthest." (Comines.) Louis found means of inducing the king and his favourites to accept of presents and pensions, gave free entertainment to all the soldiers, and

congratulated himself on having thus, by a mere pecuniary outlay, rid himself of an army that came to conquer France.

CHARLES THE BOLD'S GERMAN CAMPAIGN. —From this time forward he had nothing more to fear from Charles the Bold. This haughty prince had conceived the design of re-establishing, on a larger scale, the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, by uniting to his present dominions Lorraine, Provence, Dauphiny, and Switzerland. Louis XI. took good care not to disturb him; he extended the term of the treaties, and "allowed him to dash himself against this German rock of offence." In effect, the Duke having sought to compel the city of Neuss to receive one of the two claimants to the Archbishopric of Cologne, all the princes of the Empire marched against him, with an army of observation of 100,000 men. He persisted for an entire year, and only abandoned this disastrous siege to turn his arms against the Swiss.

DEFEAT OF GRANSON, 1476.—DEFEAT OF MORAT.—This nation of burgesses and peasants, two centuries before freed from the yoke of the house of Austria, was always hated by the princes and the nobles. Louis XI. when still dauphin, had experienced the valour of the Swiss at the battle of St. James, where 1,600 of them had been cut to pieces, rather than retire before a body of 20,000 men. Hagenbach, however, the Duke of Burgundy's governor in the district of Ferette, harrassed their allies, and did not fear to insult the Swiss themselves. "We will flay the bear of Berne," was his saying, "and make ourselves a fur cloak out

of his skin." The patience of the Swiss was exhausted; they formed an alliance with the Austrians, their ancient enemies, beheaded Hagenbach, and defeated the Burgundians at Hericourt. They attempted to pacify the Duke of Burgundy; they explained to him that he could gain no real benefit by successes won over them; "there is more gold," said they, "in your knights' spurs, than you would find in all our cantons." The Duke was inflexible. Having invaded Lorraine and Switzerland, he took Granson, and drowned the garrison, who had surrendered on his promise to spare their lives. Meanwhile the Swiss forces were advancing, the Duke of Burgundy committed the imprudence of marching to meet them, and of thus forfeiting the advantage, which the plain afforded, for the movements of his cavalry. From his position on the eminence that still bears his name, he saw them dash down from the submit of the mountains, with loud shouts of "Granson! Granson!" At the same time the whole valley resounded with the clang of the two enormous horns that the Swiss asserted had of old been presented to them by Charlemagne, and that respectively bore the names of the Bull of Uri and the Cow of Ulterwalden. Nothing stood before the confederates. The Burgundians, again and again, but always unsuccessfully, attempted to penetrate the forest of pikes that bore them down at full speed. They were soon totally routed. The Duke's camp, his artillery, his treasure, fell into the hands of the victors. But the latter were very imperfectly acquainted with the value of their

spoil. One of them sold for a crown the Duke of Burgundy's massive diamond: the contents of his military chest were divided untold, and measured out by hatsful. Misfortune, however, had not impressed its lesson upon Charles the Bold. Three months after he marched to the attack of the Swiss at Morat, and sustained a far more bloody defeat than before. The conquerors made no prisoners, and erected a monument out of the bones of the Burgundians. "Unsparing as at Morat," was long a popular Swiss saying [1476].

DEFEAT OF NANCI, 1477.—This defeat proved the ruin of Charles the Bold. He had exhausted the resources, both in money and men, of his good towns; for two years, without intermission, he had kept his chivalry under arms. He fell into a state of despondency verging upon madness, allowing his beard to grow and never changing his clothes. He persisted in his design of driving the younger René, who had just re-entered it, out of Lorraine. This prince, who had fought for the Swiss, who delighted to talk their language, and sometimes adopted their costume, speedily saw them arrive to his assistance. The Duke of Burgundy, reduced to 3,000 men, would on no account fly before "a mere boy," but himself entertained little hopes of the result. Just as the battle began, the Italian Campo-Basso, with whom Louis XI. had long been tampering for the life of Charles the Bold, seized the red cross, and thus commenced the defeat of the Burgundians [1477]. Some days after, the body of the prince was found; it was carried in solemn

pomp to Nanci, where René visited and sprinkled it with holy water, and taking its hand said: "Fair cousin! God guard your soul! many are the evils and the afflictions you have brought upon us!" But the people would not credit the death of a prince who had so long been foremost on the roll of fame. It was constantly maintained that he would ere long reappear; and ten years after merchants delivered their goods without payment, on condition of receiving double their price at the return of the Great Duke of Burgundy.

The fall of the house of Burgundy permanently established that of France. The possessors of the three great fiefs, Burgundy, Provence, and Brittany, having died without male issue, our kings dismembered the first [1477], resumed the second under a will [1481], and the third by a marriage [1491].

WAR AGAINST MAXIMILIAN.—Louis XI. at first hoped to obtain possession of the whole inheritance of Charles the Bold, by marrying the Dauphin to his daughter, Mary of Burgundy. But the Flemish states, weary of French rule, gave the hand of their sovereign to Maximilian of Austria, subsequently Emperor, and grandfather of Charles V. Thus began the rivalry between the houses of Austria and of France. Notwithstanding the defeat of the French at Guinegate, Louis XI. remained master at least of Artois and of Franche-Comté, which, by the treaty of Arras [1481], was to be the marriage-portion of Margaret, daughter of the Archduke, and who was promised to the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VIII.)

CHARLES VIII.—When Louis XI. left the throne to his son, still a minor [1483], France, which had silently endured so much, found utterance. The States-General, assembled in 1484 by the Regent, Anne of Beaujeu, wished to confer upon their deputies the predominant influence in the Council of Regency; to limit the term of their contributions to two years, at the end of which time they were to be again assembled; lastly, to supervise themselves the employment of those contributions. The six "Nations," that together made up the Estates, began to make mutual advances, and sought to secure the privilege of taxing themselves, as was the case in Normandy and Languedoc; when the dissolution of the assembly was announced. The Regent still ruled in the spirit of Louis XI. by her resolute dealings with the nobles. She crushed the opposition of the Duke of Orleans, who contested the regency with her, and reunited Brittany to the crown, by marrying her son to the heiress of that Duchy [1491]. Thus was achieved the task of humbling the great men of the kingdom. France attained that unity, which was one day to render her formidable to all Europe. To the old servants of Louis XI. succeeds a generation young and ardent like their king. Eager to establish the title, which he has inherited from the house of Anjou, to the kingdom of Naples, Charles VIII. soothes, by a bribe, the jealousy of the king of England, restores Rousillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, Artois and Franche-Comté to Maximilian; he does not scruple to sacrifice three of the strongest outposts of France. The loss of a few provinces

matters little to the future conquēror of Naples and of the Eastern Empire.

Section II.

England, 1454—1509; Scotland 1452—1513.

England.—Marriage of Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou; Death of Gloucester; Loss of the English possessions in France. Richard of York, Warwick; Condemnation of the Ministers; Protectorate of Richard, 1455. Battles of Northampton and of Wakefield; Death of Richard; his son Edward IV. 1461. The Lancastrians defeated at Towton, and at Hexham, 1463. Edward IV. worsted at Nottingham, 1470. Battle of Tewkesbury; defeat and death of Henry VI., 1471. Death of Edward IV., 1483. Richard III. Henry Tudor. Battle of Bosworth; Henry VII., 1485. Growth of the Royal Power.

Scotland.—Contest of James II. with the aristocracy. His alliance with the house of Lancaster. James III., 1460. James IV., 1488. The king reconciled to the nobility. Battle of Flodden. James V., 1513.

Henry VI.—Warwick.—Constantly defeated, for a hundred years together, by the English, the French at length had their turn of success. In each campaign, the English, driven from our towns by Dunois or by Richemont, retired into their own provinces, overwhelmed with shame, and laid the blame of their failure upon their generals, or their ministers; alleging sometimes the quarrels between the king's uncles, at others the recall of the Duke of York, as the causes of their defeat. To the conqueror at Agincourt had succeeded the youthful Henry VI., whose innocence and gentleness were so ill adapted to this turbulent period, and whose weak mind gave way entirely at the opening of the civil war. Whilst the annual revenue of

the crown amounted only to £5,000 sterling, several great families had amassed, by marriages or by inheritances, royal fortunes. The Earl of Warwick alone, the last and most conspicuous example of feudal hospitality, is said to have maintained on his estates as many as 30,000 persons. When he resided in London, his vassals and his friends consumed six oxen at a meal. This colossal fortune was sustained by all the abilities of a party leader. His boldness was a very different quality from the chivalric point of honour; this man, who had been seen to attack a fleet double his own in number, frequently fled without shame when he saw his own ranks wavering. Relentless towards the nobles, he spared in battle the blood of the people. Why should we wonder at his earning the name of "King-maker"?

MARGARET OF ANJOU.—The Court, already so weak against such men as Warwick, seemed to delight in increasing the discontent of the people. When the hatred of the English against France was sharpened by so many reverses, a French consort was selected for their sovereign. The fair Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, king of Provence, was destined to transplant to England the heroic spirit, but not the gentle virtues, of her family. Henry purchases her hand by the cession of Maine and of Anjou; instead of receiving, he confers, a dowry. Hardly has a year elapsed since this marriage, when the king's uncle, the "Good Duke" of Gloucester, the idol of the nation, because he ever advocated war with France, is found dead in his bed. Repeated bad tidings

are received from that country; before the indignation caused by the loss of Maine and Anjou has subsided, Rouen, all Normandy, are announced to be in the hands of the French; their army meets with no resistance in Guienne. Not a soldier is despatched from England; not a single governor attempts to hold out; and, in the month of August 1451, England retains not a single place on the continent except the town of Calais.

THE DUKE OF YORK PROTECTOR, 1455.—The national pride, thus cruelly humbled, began to look around for an avenger. Men's eyes were fixed upon Richard of York, whose title, long proscribed indeed, was yet superior to that of the house of Lancaster. The Nevills and a large proportion of the nobility rallied around him. The Duke of Suffolk, the queen's favourite, was their first victim. An impostor next raised the men of Kent, always ready to commence revolutions, led them to London, and caused Lord Say, another of Henry's ministers, to be beheaded. At length, Richard's avowed partisans marched in arms to St. Albans, to insist upon Somerset being delivered up to them, who, after losing Normandy, had been made prime minister. This was the first blood shed in this contest, that was to continue thirty years, to cost the lives of eighty princes, and to exterminate the old nobility of the kingdom. The Duke of York makes his sovereign prisoner, reconducts him in triumph to London, and satisfies himself for the present with the title of "Protector" [1455].

HIS DEATH.—Margaret of Anjou, meanwhile,

arms the Northern Counties, which were always opposed to innovation. She is defeated at Northampton. Henry again falls into the hands of his enemies, and the conqueror, no longer concealing his pretensions, causes himself to be declared, by the Parliament, heir presumptive to the throne. He was thus attaining the object of his ambition, when he encountered, near Wakefield, the army which the indefatigable Margaret had again assembled. He accepted the combat in spite of his inferior force, was defeated, and his head, encircled, by the queen's orders, with a paper crown, was fixed on the walls of York. His son Rutland, hardly twelve years old, was flying, accompanied by his tutor, when he was arrested on Wakefield bridge. The boy, speechless with emotion, fell on his knees, and his tutor having disclosed his name, "thy father slew mine," exclaims Lord Clifford, "thou too must die, thou and thine," and he stabs him. This barbarous act seemed to have severed every link between the two parties; scaffolds were henceforth erected on the battle fields, to await the vanquished.

EDWARD IV., 1461. MARGARET IN FRANCE, 1463.—Then began, in a more systematic manner, the struggle between the White and the Red Roses, the partisan badges respectively of York and Lancaster. Warwick induces the populace of London to proclaim the Duke of York's son king, by the name of Edward IV. [1461]. Reared amidst civil war, Edward scrupled little at shedding blood; but the fate of his father and of his brother interested the people in his behalf; he was but twenty years old, fond of

pleasure, and the handsomest man of his age. The Lancastrian line could only plead their long occupation of the throne, and the oaths of fidelity taken to them by the people. When the queen led southwards the undisciplined rabble of northern peasantry who supported themselves only by plunder, London and the richer provinces attached themselves to Edward as their defender. Warwick presently led his young king against Margaret, as far as the village of Towton. There, throughout a whole day, while the snow fell heavily, the two parties fought, with a fury rarely displayed even in civil wars. Warwick, seeing his men wavering, kills his horse, kisses the cross that formed the hilt of his sword, and swears that he will share the lot of the last of his soldiers. The Lancastrians are driven headlong into the waters of the river Cocker; Edward refuses quarter to the vanquished; 38,000 men are drowned or cut to pieces. The queen, no longer shrinking from the most desperate expedients, applied to the foreigners—the French; she had already put Berwick into the hands of the Scotch; she crossed over into France, and engaged to pawn Calais to Louis XI., for the purpose of obtaining an insignificant and invidious succour. But a tempest wrecked the fleet that carried her treasures; she lost the battle of Hexham and with it her last hopes [1463]. The ill-fated Henry soon again fell into the power of his enemies. The queen reached France, with her son, after escaping the most serious dangers.

After the victory came the distribution of the spoil. Warwick and the other Nevills

were the chief gainers. But they speedily saw their influence supplanted by that of the relations of Elizabeth Woodville, the daughter of a commoner, whom the impolitic affection of Edward had raised to the throne.* The king-maker then thought only of destroying the work of his own hands; he negotiated with France, raised the North of England, secured the adhesion even of the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, and gained possession of Edward's person. England for a moment had two sovereigns in captivity. But Warwick soon saw himself compelled to take to flight, accompanied by Clarence, and both passed over to the continent.

EDWARD IV. EXPELLED, 1470.—York could only be overthrown by the forces of Lancaster. Warwick effects a reconciliation with that very Magaret of Anjou who had beheaded his father, and recrosses to England on board the king of France's fleet. In vain had Charles the Bold warned the indolent Edward; in vain did the people celebrate, in their ballads, the name of the illustrious exile, and allude, in the homely spectacles of that age, to his misfortunes and to his virtues. Edward was aroused only by the tidings that Warwick was marching against him at the head of more than 60,000

* According to a generally received tradition, Warwick was to have negotiated in France the marriage of the king of England with Bonne of Savoy, sister-in-law of Louis XI.; but Edward meanwhile married Elizabeth Woodville. This tradition is not confirmed by the evidence of the three principal contemporary historians. —*(Lingard.)*

men. Betrayed by his own followers at Nottingham, he saved himself by a flight so precipitate that he landed almost unattended in the dominions of the Duke of Burgundy [1470].

DEATH OF WARWICK;—OF HENRY VI., 1471;—OF EDWARD IV., 1483.—Whilst Henry VI. emerges from the Tower of London, and the French king is celebrating, by public *fêtes*, the restoration of his ally; Clarence, repenting of efforts that have mainly benefited the house of Lancaster, recalls his brother into England. Edward leaves Burgundy, with the forces secretly furnished by the Duke, and lands at Ravenspur, where Henry IV. had formerly disembarked on his expedition for the dethronement of Richard II. He advances unopposed, and on his way gives out that he seeks only to recover the inheritance of his father, the late Duke of York. He assumes the ostrich feather (worn by the partisans of the Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI.), and orders his men to cry "Long live king Henry!" But as soon as his army is strong enough, he throws off the mask and marches to contest the throne with the Lancastrians on the field of Barnet. The treachery of Clarence, who passed over to his brother with 12,000 men, and the Lancastrians' having mistaken the *sun* that on that day Edward's party wore for the beaming star that was their own effigy, involved the loss of the battle and the death of the Earl of Warwick. Margaret, attacked before she had rallied her remaining forces, was defeated, and, together with her son, made prisoner at Tewkesbury. The young prince was conducted into the king's tent: "Who," said the king,

"made you bold enough to enter my dominions?" "I am come," haughtily replied the young prince, "to defend my father's crown, and my own inheritance." Edward, in a fit of anger, struck him with his gauntlet in the face; and his brothers Clarence and Gloucester, or perhaps their knights, fell upon him and transfixed him with many wounds. It is said that, on the very day of Edward's entry into London, Henry VI. perished at the Tower, by the Duke of Gloucester's own hand [1471]. Thenceforth the triumph of the White Rose was secure. Edward had now only his own brothers to fear. He secured himself against Clarence, by putting him to death on an idle pretext; but, if we are to believe the rumour current at the time, he was himself poisoned by Gloucester [1483]. For his French expedition see above.

Richard III.—Hardly has Edward left the throne to his young son Edward V. when the Duke of Gloucester causes himself to be named "Protector." The queen mother, who knew too well what species of protection she had to expect from this man, the mere sight of whom excited horror, had taken sanctuary at Westminster; respect for the holy place proving no obstacle to Richard, she tremblingly committed to him her two sons. But he could undertake nothing against them, until he had compassed the destruction of their natural defenders, especially of the Earl of Hastings, the personal friend of Edward IV. Richard one day enters the council chamber with a cheerful mien, then, suddenly changing countenance, he exclaims—"What penalty do they deserve, who conspire against

the life of the Protector? Behold to what a condition my brother's widow and Jane Shore (she was Hastings' mistress) have reduced me by their sorceries!" And he exhibited a withered arm, that had never been otherwise since his birth. Then, addressing Hastings: "'Tis you, who are the prime mover in all this. By St. Paul! I will not dine, until they have brought me your head." He smites a table with his hand; soldiers pour into the hall, seize Hastings, behead him in the courtyard, upon a piece of timber that happened to be at hand. The Parliament then declares the two young princes, as well as their father, illegitimate. A certain Doctor Shaw preaches to the people on the text "Bastard slips shall not thrive"; a dozen workmen throw up their caps in the air, crying "God save king Richard!" and he accepts the crown, "*in accordance with the injunctions of the people.*" His nephews were smothered in the Tower, and long after, two children's skeletons were found under the dungeon stairs.

DEATH OF RICHARD III., 1485.—But Richard's throne was not secure; there was, secluded in Brittany, a surviving scion of the house of Lancaster, whose right to the throne was more than doubtful—Henry Tudor of Richmond. He was, through his grandfather, Owen Tudor, of Welsh extraction. The Welsh invited him over. With the exception of the Northern Counties, where Richard had many supporters, all England awaited only the arrival of Richmond, to declare in his favour. Richard, knowing not where to bestow his confi-

dence, precipitated the crisis, and advanced to Bosworth. Hardly had the two armies met, when he perceived in the opposite ranks the Stanleys, whom he believed to be his own partisans. He then rushes to the attack, waving his crown, and shouting "treason! treason!" despatches two gentlemen with his own hand, overturns the enemy's standard, and cuts his way through the Lancastrians to his rival; but is overpowered by numbers. Lord Stanley plucks the crown from his head, and places it on Henry's. Richard's rifled body was thrown across a horse, behind the rider, and in this plight conveyed to Leicester, the head hanging down on one side, and the feet on the other [1485].

HENRY VII. (TUDOR).—Henry united the rights of the two rival houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. But his reign was long disturbed by the intrigues of Edward's widow, and of the sister of that prince, Dowager Duchess of Burgundy. They first raised up against him a young baker, who passed himself off as Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence. Henry, having defeated the impostor's supporters at the battle of Stoke, employed him as scullion in his kitchen; and, soon after, rewarded his good behaviour by promoting him to the office of falconer. A more formidable rival subsequently arose against him. This mysterious personage, who bore a likeness to Edward IV., assumed the name of that prince's second son. The Duchess of Burgundy, after a solemn scrutiny, acknowledged him as her nephew, and publicly named him

"the White Rose of England." Charles VIII. treated him as a sovereign; James III., king of Scotland, gave him in marriage a relative of his own: but his attempts were not crowned with success. He successively invaded Ireland, the north of England, and the county of Cornwall, and was in every case repulsed. The inhabitants of the latter county, deceived in the hopes which they had conceived on the accession of a prince of Celtic blood, refused to die for the Pretender. He was actually taken prisoner, and compelled to sign and read, in Westminster Hall, a confession of his real origin. In this he admitted that he was born at Tournay, of a Jewish family, and named Perkin Warbeck. A new impostor having assumed the Earl of Warwick's name, Henry VII., to prevent the recurrence of these disturbances, put to death the real Earl, an unfortunate prince, whose birth was his sole crime, and who, from his earliest years, had been a prisoner in the Tower of London.

THE ENGLISH ARISTOCRACY.—Such was the end of the troubles that had cost England so much blood. Who was the defeated party in this long contest? Neither York nor Lancaster, but the English aristocracy, which had been decimated in the battles, and plundered in the proscriptions that had followed them. According to Fortescue, nearly the fifth part of the lands of the kingdom had fallen by confiscation into the hands of Henry VII. A still heavier blow to the power of the nobles, was the law that permitted them to alienate their lands by cutting off entails. The growing requirements of

a luxury hitherto unknown induced them to avail themselves eagerly of this permission to ruin themselves. They deserted, for a Court-life, their ancient castles, where they had reigned as sovereigns since the conquest. They gave up that system of sumptuous hospitality, that had so long secured them the fidelity of their vassals. The Baron's "men" found his court and his banqueting-hall deserted; they abandoned him who had abandoned them, and returned home "King's men." (Abolition of the Right of Maintenance.)

Reign of Henry VII.—Henry's chief care throughout his reign was to amass a treasure; after such a series of revolutions so little confidence was felt in the future! Exaction of feudal dues, redemption of feudal services, fines, confiscations, no means of obtaining his end came amiss to him. He obtained money from his Parliament for waging, and from the French for refraining to wage, war with France; thus "making profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace" (Bacon). He sought also to strengthen himself by alliances with better established dynasties, gave his daughter in marriage to the king of Scotland, and procured for his son the hand of the Infanta of Spain [1502–3]. Under him navigation and industry first advanced rapidly. He sent out, on a voyage of discovery, the Venetian Sebastian Cabot, who discovered North America [1498]. He exempted several towns from the operation of the law, forbidding the father to bind his son apprentice, unless he had himself an income of twenty shillings in landed pro-

perty. Thus, at the very time when Henry VII. is founding the despotic power of the Tudors upon the abasement of the Nobles, we see the germs of the rise of the Commons, who, in a century and a half, will overthrow the Stuarts.

SCOTLAND.—The day was yet far distant when the other kingdom of Great Britain would attain so orderly a state. Scotland contained far more elements of disorder than England. In the first place, the more mountainous nature of the country had afforded greater facilities for the resistance of the conquered races. The sovereignty of the Lowlanders over the Highlanders, of the Saxons over the Celts, was simply nominal. The latter recognised little other supremacy than that of the hereditary chiefs of their clans. The principal of these chiefs, "The Lord of the Isles," Earl of Ross, was in relation to the king of Scotland, on the footing of a tributary sovereign rather than of a subject; he was the secret or avowed friend of all the king's enemies, the ally of England against Scotland, of Douglas against the Stuarts. The first princes of this latter dynasty, being unable to subdue the mountaineers, treated them with forbearance; James I. expressly exempts them from legal obedience, "seeing," he says "that their custom is to plunder and kill each other." Thus English civilization, that was gradually making its way into Scotland, stopped at the Grampian Hills.

DOUGLAS.—Even amidst these hills, the royal authority found indefatigable opponents in the Lords and the Barons, above all in the Doug-

lases; the heroic family that had disputed the throne with the Stuarts, from the first accession of their dynasty; that had since fought the English in France; and had brought back thence as their trophy the title of Counts of Touraine. The kings of Scotland had rivals, even in the Stuart family itself; their brothers or their cousins, the Dukes of Albany, ruled in their name, or disquieted them with their ambitious pretensions. To these causes of disturbance must be added the singular circumstance of a succession of six minorities [1437—1578], and then it may be understood why Scotland was the last kingdom to emerge from mediæval anarchy. After the French wars, the contest with the Douglases became more severe. The kings waged it with more violence than ability. Under James II. William Douglas, entrapped by Crichton, the Chancellor, in Edinburgh Castle, was there put to death after some semblance of a mock trial [1440]; another William Douglas, the most insolent of all those who bore this name, having been summoned by the same prince to Stirling, exasperated him by outrageous language, and was assassinated by the king's own hand [1452]. His brother, James Douglas, marched against the king at the head of 40,000 men; compelled him to fly to the North, and would have conquered him, had he not insulted the Hamiltons, who had up to this time been close allies of his family. Douglas, abandoned by his own followers, was compelled to fly into England; and the wars of the Roses, which were just then beginning, prevented the English from availing themselves of this dangerous exile to

throw Scotland into commotion. The Earls of Angus, a branch of the house of Douglas, received the latter, and proved little less formidable to the kings. Shortly after the Hamiltons too rose, and became, together with the Campbells, Earls of Argyle, the most powerful noblemen in Scotland during the 16th and 17th centuries.

JAMES III., 1460.—Under James III. [1460] Scotland extended her dominion, both northward and southward, by the acquisition of the Orkneys and of Berwick; the annexation of the Earldom of Ross to the crown had destroyed for ever the power of the Lord of the Isles; yet no reign was less glorious. Never did a prince more signally violate the ideas and customs of his subjects. What Scotch laird would have stooped to render obedience to a king who was for ever buried in the recesses of a castle, who absented himself from the warlike amusements of the nobles, surrounded himself with English artists, decided on war and peace by the advice of a music-master, a mason, or a tailor? He had even gone so far as to issue an order, that the nobility should not appear in arms at his court, as though he dreaded the sight of a sword.

He might still, however, have held his own against the nobles, if supported by the attachment of the commons, or the clergy; but he alienated both, by depriving the boroughs of the right of electing their aldermen, the clergy of the privilege of nominating their dignitaries.

HIS DEATH, 1488.—James III. feared that his two brothers, the Duke of Albany and

the Earl of Mar, might seek to supplant a sovereign so low in public estimation. An astrologer's prediction induced him to confine them in Edinburgh Castle. Albany escaped, and the cowardly monarch thought to secure himself by opening his young brother's veins. The favourites triumphed. The mason and architect Cochrane had the effrontery to possess himself of the spoils of his victim, and to assume the title of Earl of Mar. So confident was he of the future, that, on putting in circulation a debased coinage, he had said:—"Before my money is called in, I shall be hanged." And so he actually was. The nobles, under the king's own eyes, seized his favourites and hanged them on Lawder Bridge. Some time after, they attacked the king himself, and formed the strongest league that had ever menaced the throne of Scotland [1488]. The Northern and Western Barons still sided with the king; but he fled at the first shock of battle, and fell from his horse into a brook. He was conveyed to a mill close at hand, and asked for a confessor; the priest who presented himself belonged to the opposite party; he received his confession, and assassinated him.

JAMES IV., HIS DEATH, 1513.—James IV., whom the insurgents raised to his father's throne, ruled more happily. The Barons obeyed him less as their sovereign than as the most brilliant knight in the kingdom. He completed the ruin of the Lord of the Isles by uniting the Hebrides to his dominions; he established royal courts of justice throughout the north of the kingdom. Abandoned by the French, James IV.

had allied himself with Henry VII. of England. When Henry VIII. invaded France, Louis XII. claimed the assistance of the Scotch; Anne of Brittany despatched her ring to their king, thereby denoting her choice of him as her champion. James would have thought himself guilty of disloyalty in refusing his aid to a suppliant queen. All the Lords, all the Barons of Scotland, followed him in this romantic expedition. But he lost precious time near Flodden, in Ford Castle, enchanted, according to some accounts, with Mrs. Heron, the wife of its owner. Aroused by the arrival of the English army, he was defeated, notwithstanding his bravery, and all his nobility fell with him [1513]. The death of twelve earls, of thirteen barons, of five eldest sons of barons, of a host of gentlemen of distinction, and of 10,000 soldiers, thoroughly broke the power of Scotland, and delivered her over for the remainder of the century a prey to the intrigues of France and England.

SECTION III.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL. 1454—1521.

Henry IV. king of Castile, 1454.—Insurrection of the Nobles in the name of the Infant; Deposition of Henry; Battle of Medina del Campo, 1465.—John II. king of Aragon; Catalan Revolt, 1462-72.—Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, 1469.—Moorish War, Capture of Granada, 1481-92.—Ferdinand and Isabella break the power of the Nobles, and of the Towns, with the aid of the Inquisition, founded in 1480.—Expulsion of the Jews, 1492.—Compulsory Conversion of the Moors, 1499.—Death of Isabella, 1504.—Administration of Ximenes. Conquest of

Navarre, 1512.—Death of Ferdinand, 1516.—His successor Charles of Austria. Revolt of Castile, of Murcia, &c. 1516—1521.

Spain is the country in which the barbarians of the North and of the South, the Goths and the Arabs, met face to face. Confined by the ocean within the Spanish peninsula, like champions in the lists, they waged incessant war there throughout the middle ages. Thus the crusading spirit, which for a time agitated all the nations of Europe, has been the very basis of the Spanish character, with its savage intolerance, and its chivalrous pride, each carried to the highest pitch by the violence of African passion. For Spain, in spite of the Straits of Gibraltar, is most closely allied to the opposite coast. In it are found the productions, the races, even the deserts, of Africa. A single battle opened Spain to the Moors, and eight centuries were required to wrest it from them.

MOORS. SPANIARDS.—The Christians had been in the ascendant ever since the thirteenth century; in the fifteenth the Mussulman population, concentrated in the kingdom of Granada, and backed, as it were, by the sea, could retire no further: but it was already clearly discernible which of the two nations was to become supreme in Spain; on the part of the Moors, a host of merchants, swarming in rich cities, enervated by baths and by the climate; peaceable peasants, engaged amidst their delicious valleys in tending mulberry trees, and manufacturing silk; a lively and ingenious nation, whose life was spent in music and dancing, who loved showy robes, and decked out even their tombs;

on the other hand, a people taciturn, dressing in dun colours, whose master passion was war, and the bloodier, the more welcome to them; who, abandoning commerce and science to the Jews, preferred for themselves, above all other titles, that of sons of the Goths; a race haughty in its independence, terribly earnest in love and in religion. Among them, the whole people accounted itself noble; money had not given the burgess his rights; the peasant, who, like his lord, wielded the sword against the Moors, felt his dignity as a "Christian."

RESISTANCE TO THE KINGS.—These men, so formidable to the enemy, were equally so to their kings. The kings had long been, so to speak, merely the leading barons; the Aragonese sovereign sometimes prosecuted his subjects in the court of the *Justiza*, or Grand Justiciary of the kingdom. The stubborn spirit of the Aragonese, like the pride of the Castilian, had passed into a proverb. "Give a man of Aragon a nail, and he will rather drive it in with his head, than with a hammer." Their oath of allegiance was haughty and menacing. "We who, singly, are your equals, and, united, more powerful than yourself, make you our king, on condition that you shall maintain our privileges, and not otherwise."

THE JEWS.—Hence, the kings of Spain preferred to employ the "New Christians," as the converted Jews and their children were called. They found them more enlightened and compliant. The tolerant spirit of the Moors had formerly attracted them to Spain, and more than 100,000 Jewish families had been convert-

ed since the year 1400. They rendered themselves indispensable to the king by their proficiency in business, in medical, and astrological knowledge; it was a Jew who, in 1468, operated for cataract on the king of Aragon. Commerce was in their hands; they had, by the high interest they exacted, appropriated almost all the money in the country; to them it was that the king entrusted the collection of the taxes.

What ample grounds, these, for popular hatred! It burst forth several times in a terrible manner in the populous cities of Toledo, Segovia, and Cordova.

THE NOBLES.—The nobility, seeing themselves gradually supplanted at court by the "new Christians," and by men of inferior rank generally, became hostile to the royal authority, which they were unable to dispose of for their own objects. Those of Castile induced the Infant Don Henry to take up arms against his father, John II., and succeeded in procuring the execution of the king's favourite, Alvaro de Luna. His immense property was confiscated; and for three days a basin, placed upon the scaffold near his corpse, received the alms of those who were willing to defray the expenses of his funeral.

HENRY IV. KING OF CASTILE, 1454.—BATTLE OF MEDINA DEL CAMPO, 1465.—Henry IV., now become king, endeavoured to throw off the yoke of the great men, who had supported his cause whilst he was Infant; but, at the same time, he provoked the towns by levying taxes on his own authority, and by venturing himself to name deputies to Cortes. His repu-

tation had also suffered, by his conniving at the Queen's licentiousness, and by his cowardice; the Castilians could not consent to render obedience to a prince, who withdrew from the army on the eve of an engagement. The heads of the aristocracy, Carillo, Archbishop of Toledo, Don John of Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, and his brother, who possessed the Grand Masterships of Saint James and of Calatrava, set up against the king his brother Don Alfonso, still a boy; they asserted the illegitimacy of the Infanta Joanna, who was believed to be the daughter of Bertrand de la Cueva, the Queen's paramour; they exhibited an effigy of Henry on a throne, in the plain of Avila, and, after stripping off its royal ornaments, hurled it down and installed Don Alonzo in its place. After an indecisive battle (Medina del Campo, 1465), the unfortunate sovereign, abandoned by every one, wandered about his kingdom at random, amidst castles and towns that closed their gates against him, and without any one thinking it worth while to capture him. One night, after riding eighteen leagues, he had ventured to enter Toledo; the tocsin was sounded, he was obliged to quit the city, and one of the two knights who accompanied him would not even lend him a horse.

JOHN II. OF ARAGON.—Aragon and Navarre were in as disturbed a state. John II. who afterwards succeeded his brother Alfonso the Magnanimous in the kingdoms of Aragon and of Sicily, withheld the crown of Navarre from his own son, Don Carlos de Viana, the young prince being heir to it through his mother [1441

et seq.]. A step-mother excited the anger of the father against the son, for the benefit of her own children (Ferdinand the Catholic, and Leonora, Countess of Foix). The standing factions of Navarre, the Beaumonts and the Grammonts, prosecuted, in the name of the two princes, their personal hostility. Twice was the better cause worsted in pitched battle; twice the indignation of Don John's subjects compelled him to set his unfortunate son at liberty. Don Carlos having been poisoned, or died of grief [1461], his sister Blanche inherited his rights. Her father delivered her up to Leonora, her younger sister, who poisoned her in the Castle of Orthez. The Catalans had already risen, incensed to the highest degree at this double parricide; they had been unable to secure Don Carlos as their king, they invoked him as a Saint; they successively called to their aid the King of Castile, the Infant of Portugal, and John of Calabria, and submitted only after a ten years' contest [1472].

FERDINAND AND ISABELLA, 1469-79.—Whilst John II. was risking the loss of Catalonia, his son Ferdinand was gaining Castile. Henry IV.'s brother being dead, the nobles had put forward Isabella, his sister, as heiress to his claims. To strengthen her against the king, they married her to the Infant of Aragon, who, after her, was the nearest heir to the throne [1469]. Henry IV. soon after died, at the close of a banquet given him by his late enemies [1474]. But he had declared, on his death-bed, that Joanna was his legitimate daughter. Gallicia, and the whole country from Toledo to Murcia,

had declared in her favour. Her uncle, the king of Portugal, Alfonso the African, had been engaged to her, and now marched to the support of her cause, at the head of his knights, who had conquered Arsilla and Tangiers. The Portuguese encountered the Castilians at Toro [1476]. The former were defeated; and their banner, bearing the arms of Almeyda, was suspended in the Cathedral of Toledo. This check sufficed to discourage the Portuguese; all the Castilian Nobles went over to Ferdinand and Isabella: the crown of Castile was secured to them; and the death of John II., which put them in possession of Aragon [1479], enabled them to direct the whole forces of Christian Spain against the Moors of Granada.

1481-1492.—A Moorish saying ran, that their Spanish dominion was fated to end at this time. A faquir disturbed Granada by his lugubrious predictions, for which indeed the state of the kingdom afforded ample grounds. They had already, during the reign of Henry IV., lost Gibraltar. Cities strong in position, but unentrenched, without outworks, and defended only by a wall of little thickness; a brilliant force of cavalry, well practised in hurling the light Moorish dart, attacking and retreating with equal readiness; such were the military resources of the people of Granada. They could expect no help from Africa. The time was passed when the hordes of the Almohades and Almoravides could pour, like a flood, over the Peninsula. The Sultan of Egypt contented himself with sending the Guardian of the Holy Sepulchre to Ferdinand,

to plead the cause of the Moors, but his attention was soon diverted nearer home by his alarm at the progress of the Ottoman arms.

CAPTURE OF GRANADA, 1492.—Although every year the Christians and the Moors made alternate *raids* into each others' territories, burning the vines, the olive and orange trees, yet a singular tacit understanding subsisted between them;—the truce was not to be considered broken, even after one party had taken a fortified place, if it had been occupied without a regular siege train, banners, or trumpets, and in less than three days. Zahara, which the Moors had taken in this off-hand way, was the pretext for the war. The Spaniards invaded the kingdom of Granada, under the impulse of their fair queen, whom alone the Castilians would obey. In this army served the future conquerors of Barbary and of Naples,—Pedro Navarro and Gonsalvo de Cordova. In the course of eleven years the Christians rendered themselves masters of Alhama, the bulwark of Granada; took Malaga, the centre of the Spanish trade with Africa; Baza, and settled there 150,000 inhabitants; and, at last, sat down, with 40,000 men, to the siege of Granada itself. This capital was a prey to the most furious internal discord. The son was there in arms against the father, the brother against his brother. Boabdil and his uncle had divided between them the relics of this expiring sovereignty, and the latter had parted with his portion to the Spaniards for a wealthy domain. Boabdil only was now left, who had acknowledged himself Ferdinand's vassal, and who followed, rather than directed,

the obstinate fury of the people. The siege lasted nine months; a Moor attempted to assassinate Ferdinand and Isabella; a fire destroyed the whole camp; the queen, whom nothing could discourage, ordered it to be replaced by a town: and that of *Santa Fe*, built in eighty days, told the Mussulmans that the siege would never be raised. The Moors at length opened their gates, on a promise being made to them that they should be allowed judges of their own nation, and the free exercise of their religion. [1492.]

COLUMBUS.—The same year Christopher Columbus "Gave a World to Spain." (Epitaph of Columbus.)

The kingdoms of Spain were now all united, with the exception of Navarre, the inevitable bone of contention between two powerful Monarchies, to each of which nature herself seemed originally to have assigned a part of it. But these several kingdoms, thus forcibly united, required consolidating into one harmonious whole. The Castilians kept a jealous eye on the Aragonese, while both always regarded the Jews and the Moors, who dwelt among them, as enemies. Each city had its franchises, each of the nobles his exclusive privileges. It became necessary to control these several elements of resistance, to harmonise these heterogeneous forces, before employing them on the work of conquest. In spite of the ability of Ferdinand, and of the personal enthusiasm inspired by Isabella, they only attained this end after thirty years of exertion. The means employed were terrible, and proportioned to the energy of such

a nation as the Spaniards; the prize was the empire of the two worlds in the sixteenth century.

THE CORTES.—THE SANTA HERMANDAD.—The Spanish Cortes, which alone could have concerted a regular system of resistance, were the most ancient political assemblies in Europe; but these institutions, formed during the anarchy of the middle ages, were entirely destitute of the organisation requisite for continuing the struggle. In 1480, only seventeen Castilian towns were represented; in 1520 the whole of Gallicia did not send a single member to Cortes. Those of Guadalaxara alone voted for 400 boroughs or towns. In Aragon the case was almost the same. The rivalry between the towns perpetuated this abuse; in 1506 and in 1512 the privileged towns of Castile rejected the claims of the rest. Thus, in order to remain master of the field, Ferdinand had but to leave it open to the rival pretensions. Through the Holy Hermandad of the towns, and the revolts of the vassals, he obtained the subjection of the nobility; with the aid of the latter, that of the towns; by means of the Inquisition, he completed his triumph over both. The violence of the nobility determined Saragossa to allow Ferdinand to modify her ancient municipal constitution, which she had constantly defended.

The organisation of the Holy Hermandad, or fraternal alliance of the cities of Aragon, which would have put a period to the private wars of the feudal lords, was interrupted by them [1488]; and the king, at the Cortes of 1495, was compelled to defer its establishment for

ten years; but the people of Saragossa were so indignant at this, that the Justiciary of Aragon, who had refused to swear to the Hermandad, long after did not venture to enter the city. Thenceforth, the royal power was destined to succeed, in a great measure, to the popular fondness for this Magistracy, which had long been regarded as the bulwark of public liberty against the encroachments of the kings.

Yet Ferdinand and Isabella would never have acquired absolute power, had the limited resources of the royal exchequer left them dependent upon the Cortes. They revoked, by two successive measures, the grants made by Henry IV., and their own adherence to which had been the price paid for the submission of the nobles [1480—1506]. The union in the sovereign of the three Grand Masterships of Alcantara, Calatrava, and Saint James, which they skilfully induced the knights to put at their disposal, supplied them at once with an army and with immense wealth [1493, 1494]. At a later time, the kings of Spain, having obtained from the Pope the sale of the Bull for the Crusade, and the right of presenting to Bishoprics [1508—1522], became the richest sovereigns in Europe, even before deriving any considerable sums from America.

PORTUGAL.—It was by a similar course that the kings of Portugal laid the foundations of their power. They assumed to themselves the masterships of Avis, of Santiago, and of Christ, in order to secure the allegiance of the nobility. In one single Cortes [at Evora, 1482], John II.,

the successor of Alfonso the African, revoked the concessions of his predecessors, deprived the feudal lords of the power of life and death, and subjected their domains to royal jurisdiction. The incensed nobles adopted as their leader the Duke of Braganza, who called in the Castilians; the king had him tried by a commission, and beheaded; the Duke of Viseu, cousin-german and brother-in-law of the king, conspired against him, and was assassinated by John's own hand.

THE INQUISITION IN SPAIN.—But it was its reliance on religious zeal, the national feature of the Spanish character, that secured the triumph of absolutism in Spain. The kings allied themselves with the Inquisition, that vast and powerful hierarchy, so much the more terrible in that it united the cool and collected strength of political authority, and the violence of religious passion. The establishment of the Inquisition encountered the strongest obstacles on the part of the Aragonese. Having been less brought into contact with the Moors than the Castilians, they were less violently excited against them; the majority of those who had a share in the government of Aragon were descended from Jewish families. They protested strongly against the secrecy of the proceedings, and against the confiscations of the Inquisition, which contravened, they asserted, the *fueros* of the kingdom. They even assassinated one Inquisitor, in hopes of striking terror into the rest. But the new institution was too much in conformity with the religious ideas of the majority of the Spaniards, to fall before these

attacks. The title, Familiar of the Inquisition, which conferred exemption from municipal obligations, was in such request that, in some towns, these privileged persons were more numerous than the other inhabitants, and that the Cortes were obliged to make regulations on the subject.

EXPULSION OF THE JEWS, 1492.—After the conquest of Granada, the Inquisition did not restrict itself to persecuting individuals. All the Jews were ordered to become converts, or to leave Spain within four months, and were forbidden to carry away with them either gold or silver [1492]. A hundred and seventy thousand families, comprising a population of 800,000 souls, sold their property in haste, and fled into Portugal, into Italy, into Africa, and even to the Levant. "Then a house was exchanged for an ass, a vine for a piece of silk or cloth." A contemporary tells us that he saw a crowd of these unhappy people land in Italy, and waste away with hunger and misery near the pier at Genoa, the only place in that town where they were allowed for a few days to remain undisturbed.

THE INQUISITION IN PORTUGAL, 1526.—The Jews who retired to Portugal were only received there after paying eight crowns of gold a head; they were, moreover, required, within a limited time, to leave the kingdom, on pain of being reduced to slavery: and this regulation was strictly enforced. It is, however, alleged that the first who entered Portugal wrote to their brethren in Spain:—"The land is a good land; the people are fools; the water is our own; you may come, for all shall be ours." Manuel, who succeeded John on the throne, emancipated

those who had been reduced to slavery. But in 1496 he ordered them to quit the kingdom, and to leave behind them their children under fourteen years old. The majority preferred to receive baptism, and in 1507 Manuel abolished the distinction between the *Old* and the *New Christians*. The Inquisition was established in 1526 at Lisbon, and was thence transplanted to the East Indies, where the Portuguese had landed in 1498. (See below.)

THE MOORS OF GRANADA.—Seven years after the expulsion of the Jews [1499–1501] the king of Spain attempted, in an equally violent manner, to convert the Moors of Granada, who had been secured, by the terms of the capitulation, in the free exercise of their religion. Those of the Albaycin (the highest district of Granada) first revolted, and their example was followed by the wild inhabitants of the Alpuxarras. The Gandules of Africa came to their support; and the king, finding the difficulty of reducing them, supplied vessels to those who wished to cross over into Africa; but most of them remained in Spain, under pretence of conversion.

DEATH OF ISABELLA, 1504.—XIMENES.—The reduction of the Moors was followed by the conquest of Naples [1501-1503], and by the death of Isabella [1504]. This great queen was adored by the Castilian people, whose noble character she so well represented,* and

* The principal portion of the glory of this reign ought to be ascribed to Queen Isabella. She exhibited the greatest courage during the trials of her early years; while Ferdinand fled from Segovia, she ventured to

whose independence she defended against her husband. At her death, the Castilians had but the choice between foreign masters. Their obedience must be rendered either to the king of Aragon, or to the Austrian Archduke, Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Low Countries, who had married Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, heiress to the kingdom of Castile. Such was their antipathy to the Aragonese, and especially to Ferdinand, that, notwithstanding all the intrigues of the latter to secure the Regency, they joined the Archduke, immediately he landed in Spain. Philip at first pursued a popular policy; he checked the violence of the Inquisition, which was on the point of provoking a universal rising; but he removed all the "*Corregidors*," all the governors of towns, to replace them with the Flemings who had accompanied him; lastly, he attempted to confine Joanna as a lunatic, her feeble intellect having been really further impaired by jealousy. Philip shortly after died [1506]. But Ferdinand would have been still unable to govern Castile, had he not been supported by Elizabeth's confessor and minister, the celebrated

remain there; she counselled the retention of Alhama, at the gates of Granada, when her bravest officers proposed to retreat. It was not without reluctance that she consented to the establishment of the Inquisition. She loved and protected literature; she understood Latin, whilst Ferdinand could barely sign his own name. In opposition to his inclinations, she had fitted out the fleet that discovered America. She defended Columbus when he was accused; comforted Gonsalvo de Cordova, when Ferdinand treated him with coldness and suspicion; gave orders for the emancipation of the ill-fated natives of America.

Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo, in whose person Castile admired at once a politician and a saint. He was a poor monk, whom the Archbishop of Granada had assigned to Isabella as her confessor and counsellor. Great was the surprise at Court, on the appearance of this eremitical personage, "whose paleness and austerity recalled the traces of the Pauls and the Hilarions of old." Even amidst the splendours to which he was now admitted, he rigorously observed the rule of St. Francis, travelling on foot and begging his bread. A Papal mandate was required to compel him to accept the Archiepiscopal see of Toledo, and to live in a manner more consistent with the wealth of the richest benefice in Spain. He consented to wear robes of costly fur, but over his serge; furnished his apartments with magnificent beds, and continued to sleep on the floor. This humble and austere life did not prevent his exhibiting, in the conduct of public affairs, the haughtiness of the Spanish character; the nobles, whom he repressed, could not help admiring his courage. He ventured to tear in pieces a state paper, that would have produced dissension between Ferdinand and his son-in-law. As he was crossing a public place during a bull-fight, the fierce animal broke loose and wounded some of his attendants; but Ximenes did not hasten his steps.

THE AFRICAN MOORS.—NAVARRE.—Thus the Castilians, recognising in Ximenes an heroic spirit, akin to that of their great queen, forgot that they were Ferdinand's subjects, and the latter years of this prince were distinguished by

the conquest of Barbary and of Navarre. The war with the Moors did not seem completed, so long as those of Africa, strengthened by a host of fugitives, infested the coasts of Spain, and found a secure retreat in the Port of Oran, at Penon de Velez, and in so many other haunts. Ximenes proposed, defrayed the expenses of, and led in person, an expedition against Oran. The capture of this town by Pedro Navarro, under the immediate inspection of the Archbishop, led to that of Tripoli, and the submission of Algiers, Tunis, and Trémecen [1509-1510]. Two years after, the annexation of Navarre, which Ferdinand won from Jean d'Albert, completed the union of the Spanish kingdoms [1512]. Eleanor, Countess of Foix, had enjoyed for a month the throne that she had purchased with a sister's blood. After the death of her son Phœbus, the hand of her daughter Catherine, sued in vain for the Infant, was given by the French party to Jean d'Albert, whom his domains of Foix, Perigord, and Limousin constantly united to the French interest. As soon as the two great powers, who fought for supremacy in Italy, began, so to speak, to come to close quarters, Navarre found herself partitioned between them, in consequence of her geographical position between the dominions of Ferdinand and those of Louis XII.

Ximenes was eighty years old when the king, on his death-bed, nominated him Regent, until the arrival of his own grandson, Charles of Austria [1516]. He faced both external and internal enemies as vigorously as ever. By an expedient equally bold and novel, he prevented

the French from conquering Navarre, namely, by dismantling all the fortified places except Pampeluna, and thus depriving the invaders of any secure basis for their operations. At the same time he raised a national militia; he secured the towns by giving them the privilege of collecting their own imposts; he revoked the concessions made by the late king to the nobility. When the latter came to complain, and professed doubts as to the powers that had been entrusted to Ximenes, he pointed out to them, from a balcony, a formidable park of artillery, and said: "There are my powers."

CHARLES V. KING, 1516.—From their very first arrival the Flemings had violated the feelings of the Spaniards. In the first place they disgraced Ximenes, when he was at the point of death, and named, as his successor, in the first see of the kingdom, a young man of twenty. They established a graduated scale for the sale of all offices, and put Spain, so to speak, up to auction. Charles assumed the title of King, without waiting to be acknowledged as such by the Cortes. He convoked that of Castile in a remote part of Gallicia, demanded a second supply before the first had been levied, extorted it by force or by corruption, and set off to possess himself of the imperial crown, without troubling himself to think whether he might not be leaving a revolution behind him. Toledo had refused to send members to this Cortes; Segovia and Zamora put theirs to death; and such was the horror inspired by these reputed traitors, that no one would plunder their houses or defile himself

with their goods. Meanwhile, the seeds of sedition were ripening throughout Spain. The entire provinces of Castile and Gallicia, Murcia, and most of the towns in Leon and Estramadura, had risen. The revolt was equally violent, though of a different character, in Valencia. The inhabitants had sworn a Hermandad against the nobles; and Charles, dissatisfied with the latter, had imprudently sanctioned it. Majorca followed the example of Valencia, and even wished to surrender to the French. In these two kingdoms the Hermandad was headed by cloth-workers.

JOHN DE PADILLA.—At the outset, the Castilian Commons obtained possession of Tordesillas, where Charles V.'s mother resided, and carried on all their proceedings in the name of this princess. But their success was shortlived. In their remonstrances they had demanded that the lands of the nobles should bear their share of the public burdens. The nobility deserted a cause whose victory would have been made to tell against themselves. The towns themselves were not agreed; the old rivalry between Burgos and Toledo revived; the former surrendered to the king, who guaranteed her the freedom of her markets. The divided Commons now placed their sole hopes in the help of the French army that had invaded Navarre. But before they could effect their junction with it, they were encountered by the Royalists and totally defeated [1521]. Don John de Padilla, the hero of the revolution, sought death in the enemies' ranks; but he was unhorsed, wounded, taken, and beheaded the following day.

Before he died, he sent to his wife, Donna Maria Pacheco, the relics that he wore round his neck, and wrote his famous letter to the city of Toledo: "To thee, Diadem of Spain, and Light of the World; to thee who wast free from the time of the Goths onward, and who hast poured forth thy blood to secure thine own liberty, and that of the cities thy neighbours, thy true son, John de Padilla, sends tidings, that by the blood of his body thine ancient victories will be watered and renewed." The reduction of Castile drew after it that of the kingdom of Valencia and of all the revolted provinces. But Charles V., profiting by so severe a lesson, henceforth respected the pride of the Spaniards, affecting to speak their language, living the greater part of his time amongst them, and fashioning this heroic people into a weapon, that he might wield for the subjection of the world.

CHAPTER III.

THE EAST AND THE NORTH.—GERMANIC AND SCANDINAVIAN STATES IN THE LATTER HALF OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

German Empire; Preponderance and Interested Policy of Austria.—Rise of Switzerland; decline of the Teutonic Order. —Rhenish and Swabian Cities; commanding influence and decline of the Hanseatic League.—Rise of Holland.—Wars of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.—Sweden becomes independent [1433—1520].

GERMANIC STATES.—In accordance with the analogy of character and language, we ought strictly to comprise amongst the Germanic States, the Empire, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and the three Northern Kingdoms, and, in several respects, even England; but the political relations of the Netherlands and of England with France, have compelled us to place the history of these powers in the preceding chapter.

GERMANY.—Germany is not only the centre of the Germanic system; in the midst of Europe at large, she is, as it were, a miniature Europe, where, though with less extreme diversity, geographical and ethnical varieties are reproduced. In the Germany of the fifteenth century were found all the diverse forms of Government, from the hereditary or elective principalities of Saxony or of Cologne, to the democracies of Uri and Underwalden; from the commercial oligarchy of Lubeck, to the military aristocracy of the Teutonic Order.

This strange Imperial Body Corporate, whose members were so heterogeneous and unequal, and its head so weak, seemed ever ready to fall to pieces. The cities, the nobility, the majority even of the princes, were almost strangers to an emperor, whom the electors only had chosen. Yet the community of origin and of language has for centuries maintained the unity of the Germanic Body; aided by the necessity for mutual defence, the common fear of the Turks, of Charles V., of Louis XIV.

AUSTRIA.—The Empire never forgot that it had once been the ruling power in Europe, and from time to time reverted, in vain proclamations, to its right of supremacy. The most powerful prince in the fifteenth century, Charles the Bold, had appeared to recognise this right, by soliciting the royal dignity from the Emperor Frederick III. These antiquated pretensions might become formidable, after the imperial crown had been limited exclusively to the house of Austria [1438]. Placed between Germany, Italy, and Hungary, in the true centre of Europe, Austria could not fail to gain the ascendancy over these two latter countries, if only by her persevering and obstinate temper. To which must be added, that system of policy, more skilful than heroic, that, by means of a succession of marriages, placed in the hands of the house of Austria the price of the blood of other nations, and subjected to her the conquerors together with their conquests: she thus acquired, on one side, Hungary and Bohemia [1526]; on the other, the Netherlands [1481]; and through the latter, Spain, Naples, and America

[1506-16]; lastly, by means of Spain, Portugal and the East Indies [1581].

IMPERIAL POWER CENTRED IN THE HOUSE OF AUSTRIA.—Towards the close of the fifteenth century the Imperial Power had fallen so low, that the Princes of the house of Austria, for the most part, forgot that they were Emperors, and attended only to the interests of their hereditary States. Nothing induced them to deviate from this policy, which, sooner or later, would enable them to raise up once more the imperial power itself. Thus Frederick III., constantly defeated by the Elector Palatine or by the king of Hungary, closes his ears to the cries of Europe, terrified at the progress of the Turks. But he erects Austria into an Archduchy; he unites the interests of his house to those of the Popes, by giving up to Nicholas V. the *Concordat* of Augsburgh; he marries his son Maximilian to the heiress of the Low Countries [1481]. Maximilian himself becomes, by his inconsistency and his poverty, the laughing stock of Europe, incessantly rushing from Switzerland to the Netherlands, and from Italy to Germany, imprisoned by the men of Bruges, defeated by the Venetians, and keeping an exact account of the insults offered him in his "Red book." Still, however, he secures the succession to the Tyrol, to Görtz, and to a portion of Bavaria. His son, Philip the Fair, sovereign of the Low Countries, marries the heiress to the throne of Spain [1496]; one of his grandsons [the Treaty of 1515], it is arranged, is to marry the sister of the king of Bohemia and Hungary.

CONSTITUTION OF THE EMPIRE, 1495—1501. —Whilst the house of Austria is thus laying the foundations of its future greatness, the Empire attempts to regulate its own Constitution. The "Imperial Chamber," now made a permanent tribunal [1495], is charged with the suppression of the practice of private war, and the substitution of the rule of law for the state of nature, that still prevails amongst the members of the Germanic body. The division of the Empire into Circles is calculated to facilitate the exercise of this jurisdiction. A council of regency is formed to control and assist the Emperor [1500]. The Electors long refuse to participate in this novel organisation. The Emperor opposes the "Aulic Council" to the Imperial Chamber [1501], and the influence of these valuable institutions is thus impaired from their very origin.

This absence of order in the Empire, and its failure to protect its subjects, had successively obliged its more remote members to form confederations, more or less independent of the central authority, or to seek foreign protection. This was the case with Switzerland, with the Teutonic Order, the Rhenish and Swabian, and the Hanseatic Leagues.

PRUSSIA.—The same age witnessed the rise of the Swiss, and the decline of the Teutonic Order. The latter of these two military powers, an advanced guard, as it were, that the warlike spirit of Germany had pushed forward into the very midst of the Sclavonians, was compelled to admit the supremacy of the King of Poland over Prussia, which country

the Teutonic knights had conquered and converted two centuries previously [the Treaty of Thorn, 1466].

SWITZERLAND.—Switzerland, severed from the Empire by the victory of Morgarten and by the League of Brunnen, had confirmed her liberty by the defeat of Charles the Bold, which taught feudal Europe the efficacy of infantry. An alliance with the Grisons, the accession of five new Cantons [Friburg, Soleure, Basle, Schaffhausen, Appenzel, 1481—1513], had raised Switzerland to the highest pinnacle of greatness. The burgesses of Berne, the shepherds of Uri, found themselves caressed by the Popes, and courted by the sovereigns of Europe. Louis XI. substituted the Swiss for the "Free Archers" [1480]. In the Italian wars, they formed the most effective portion of the infantry of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII. As soon as they had crossed the Alps, in the train of the French, they were eagerly welcomed by the Pope, who pitted them against the French themselves; and they were masters, for a short time, of the north of Italy (in the name of Maximilian Sforza). After they were defeated at Marignano [1515], their religious differences led them to turn their arms against each other, and kept them confined to their mountains.

The two commercial powers of Germany did not form a sufficiently compact body to follow the example of Switzerland and assert their independence.

RHENISH AND SWABIAN CITIES.—The league of the towns on the Rhine and in Swabia was

composed of wealthy cities, among which those of Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Augsburgh, and Spires held the first rank. These cities monopolised most of the land trade between the North and the South. When the merchandise reached Cologne, it was transferred to the Hanseatic traders, who distributed it throughout the North of Europe.

HANSEATIC LEAGUE.—The Hanseatic League, composed of eighty towns, occupied all the northern coasts of Germany, and extended along those of the Netherlands. It was, up to the sixteenth century, the ruling power in the North. The immense Hall of Lubeck, in which were held the general assemblies of the Hanse, still attests the power of these sovereigns. They had, by an immense number of canals, united the Ocean, the Baltic, and most of the rivers in the North of Germany. But it was by sea that they conducted most of their commerce. The Hanseatic factories in London, Bruges, Bergen, and Novgorod, in many respects, resembled those of the Venetians, and of the Genoese, in the Levant; they were a species of fortress. The agents, who lived in them, were forbidden to marry there, for fear they might communicate the knowledge of commerce and arts to the natives. Into some factories they were only admitted after standing cruel tests of their courage. Commerce, again, was almost everywhere conducted by armed traders. If the Hanse merchants imported into Novgorod, or London, Flanders cloth that was either too coarse, too narrow, or too dear, the people rose, and often put some of them to death. Then the merchants

threatened to leave the town; and the people, in dismay, dissuaded them on their own terms. The inhabitants of Bruges having killed some men in the service of the League, the latter required, as the condition of its restoring its factory in that town, that several burgesses should make an apology, and that others should go on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella and to Jerusalem. In fact, the most terrible punishment that the Hanseatics could inflict on a country was to quit it altogether. When they paid no visits to Sweden, the inhabitants were left without cloth, hops, salt, and herrings; in the Swedish revolutions the peasant was always on the side of those who supplied him with herrings and salt. Thus the Hanseatic League extorted extravagant privileges; most of the sea-coast towns of Sweden allowed it to fill up at least half their municipal offices.

This vast power, however, reposed on no solid foundation. The long line occupied by the Hanse towns, from Livonia to the Netherlands, was throughout narrow, and interrupted by foreign or hostile states. The towns themselves had clashing interests, unequal rights; some were "Allies," others "Protected," others "Subject Towns." Even their commerce, upon which their very existence depended, was precarious. Being neither agriculturalists nor manufacturers, and their sole power consisting in transporting and selling the productions of foreign countries, they found themselves dependent on a thousand natural or political contingencies, that no foresight could anticipate. Thus the herring, which, about the

fourteenth century had abandoned the coasts of Pomerania for those of Scania, began, in the middle of the fifteenth, to migrate from the coasts of the Baltic towards those of the Northern Ocean. Thus the surrender of Novgorod, and of Pleskof to the Czar Ivan III. [1477], the reduction of Bruges by the Imperial forces [about 1489], closed against the Hanse merchants the two principal sources of their wealth. At the same time, the progress of public order enabled a great number of continental towns to dispense with the protection of the League, particularly after the Constitution of the Empire had been confirmed, about 1495. The Rhenish towns had never united themselves to it; Cologne, which had become a member of the League, afterwards ceased to be so, and demanded the protection of Flanders. The Dutch, whose commerce and industry had sprung up under the shadow of the Hanseatic League, no longer needed it when they became subjects of the powerful houses of Burgundy and Austria, and began to contest with it the monopoly of the Baltic trade. Over a power purely commercial, they had the advantage of being at once agriculturalists, manufacturers, and merchants. To protect the interests of their trade against these dangerous rivals, the Hanse merchants were compelled to interpose in all the revolutions of the North.

DENMARK. — SWEDEN. — NORWAY. — Christianity and civilisation having spread from Germany to Denmark, and thence to Sweden and Norway, long secured to Denmark the

preponderance over the two latter States. The Swedish and Norwegian bishops were the most powerful nobles in those countries, and in both were equally devoted to the Danes. But the Kings of Denmark could turn this supremacy to account only by constant exertions, which rendered them dependent on the Danish nobility, and compelled them to make frequent concessions to it; and these could only be made at the expense of the royal power and of the liberty of the peasantry, who were gradually reduced to servitude. In Sweden, on the contrary, the peasants retained almost entirely unimpaired the ancient liberty of the Scandinavian peoples, and even formed a distinct order in the state. This Constitutional diversity accounts for the energy with which the Swedes spurned the Danish yoke. The Norwegians, whether the clergy still retained more influence among them than amongst the Swedes, or that they feared subjection to Sweden, generally evinced less repugnance to the rule of the Danes.

Northern Revolutions, 1433–1520.—The famous Union of Calmar, which had seemed to promise to the three Northern Kingdoms so much glory and power, had resulted only in subjecting Sweden and Norway to the yoke of the Danish princes, and the Germans whom they took into their counsels. The revolution of 1433, like that of 1521, was set on foot by the peasants of Dalecarlia: Engelbrecht was its Gustavus Vasa. The former as well as the latter movement was supported by the Hanse towns, whose exclusive privileges the King of Denmark (Eric, of Pomerania, nephew of Mar-

garet of Waldemar) opposed by favouring the Dutch. The Union was re-established some time after by Christopher the Bavarian, "the King of Bark," as the Swedes, who were reduced to eating the bark of trees, used to call him. But after his death [1448] they expelled the Danes and the Germans, raised Charles Knutson, marshal of the kingdom, to the independent Swedish throne, and refused to acknowledge the authority of the new king of Denmark and Norway, Christian, the first sovereign of the house of Oldenburgh (from whom through the Holstein Gottorp line, are derived the late Swedish dynasty and the present Imperial house of Russia). The Danes, strengthened by the re-annexation of Sleswick and Holstein [1459], and aided by the archbishop of Upsal, twice restored their authority over the Swedes [1457-1465], and were twice expelled by the nobles and the people.

At the death of Charles Knutson, in 1470, Sweden, successively appointed, as *Administrators* of the kingdom, three individuals of the names of Sture (Steno Suante, and Steno the younger). They relied on the support of the labouring population, and admitted its members again into the Senate. They defeated the Danes before Stockholm [1471], and captured their famous banner of Danebrog, which was regarded as the palladium of the monarchy. They founded the University of Upsal, at the same time that the king of Denmark instituted that of Copenhagen [1477-78]. Lastly, except for a short time, when Sweden was compelled to submit to John II., Christian I.'s successor, they maintained its independence until 1520.

CHAPTER IV.

The East, and the North.—The Sclavonic States, and Turkey, in the latter half of the Fifteenth Century.

Progress of the Turks, 1411—1512.—Podiebrad, King of Bohemia; Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 1458.—Vladislaus of Poland unites Hungary and Bohemia.—Poland under the Jagellons, 1386—1506.—Struggle of Russia against the Tartars, the Lithuanians and the Livonians, 14621—505.

Sclavonic States.—The conquest of the Greek Empire by the Ottoman Turks may be regarded as the last Barbarian invasion, and the closing event of the middle ages. Upon the nations of Sclavonic origin, posted on the direct track of the Asiatic barbarians, devolves the task of securing Europe against their incursions, or at least of checking their progress by powerful diversions. Russia, against which, in the fourteenth century, the fury of the Tartars has already spent itself, is about to prove a formidable antagonist to them, under Ivan III. [1462]. Against Turkish invasion, an advanced league, consisting of Hungarians, Wallachians, and Moldavians, covers Germany and Poland, which form as it were the reserve of the Christian host. Poland, stronger than ever, has no more enemies in her rear; she has just conquered Prussia, and penetrated as far as the Baltic [1454—1466].

I. CAUSES OF THE TURKISH SUCCESSES.—The following causes account for the rapid progress of Ottoman conquest in the course of the fifteenth century: 1. The fanatical and martial spirit of the people. 2. Regular armies, as opposed to the feudal militia of the Europeans, and the cavalry of the Persians and the Mamelukes; the institution of the Janissaries. 3. Peculiar situation of the enemies encountered by the Turks,—in the East, political and religious disturbances in Persia, slender foundation of the power of the Mamelukes; in the West, dissensions in Christendom itself; the Hungarians defend it on the land side, the Venetians at sea; but the strength of both is diverted,—that of the former by the ambition of the house of Austria, that of the latter by the jealousy of Italy and of Europe generally; ineffectual heroism of the Knights of Rhodes and of the Albanian chiefs.

BAJAZET II., 1481.—We have, in Chapter I., seen Mahomet II. achieve the conquest of the Greek empire, fail in his efforts against Hungary, but secure the dominion of the seas, and strike terror throughout Christendom. At the accession of Bajazet II. [1481], the actors changed parts; it was now the Sultan's turn to tremble. His brother Zizim, who had contested the throne with him, having taken refuge with the Knights of Rhodes, became, in the hands of the King of France, and afterwards of the Pope, a pledge for the security of the West. Bajazet paid large sums to Innocent VIII. and to Alexander VI., to induce them to retain Zizim in captivity. This unpopular prince,

who had commenced his reign by putting to death the Grand Vizier Ahmed, the idol of the Janissaries, and the veteran general of Mahomet II., followed, in spite of himself, the impulse of the national ardour for war. The Turks first directed their arms against the Mamelukes and the Persians. Although defeated by the former at Issus, they brought about the ruin of their conquerors by depopulating Circassia, whence the Mamelukes drew their recruits. After the death of Zizim, having no further cause to dread a civil war, they attacked the Venetians in the Peloponnese, and threatened Italy [1499—1503]; but Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland put their forces in motion, and the accession of the Soofi dynasty renewed in a regular form the political rivalry of the Turks and Persians [1501]. After this war, Bajazet provoked the animosity of the Turks by a peace of eight years, endeavoured to abdicate in favour of his son Ahmed, and was dethroned by his second son Selim, who put him to death. The accession of the new prince, the most cruel and the most warlike of all the Sultans, inspired equal alarm in the East and in the West [1512]: it was impossible to tell whether he would fall first upon Persia, Egypt, or Italy.

II. HUNGARY AND BOHEMIA. — Europe would have had nothing to fear from the Barbarians, had Hungary, securely united to Bohemia, presented a formidable front to them. But the former assailed the latter both in its independence and in its religious faith. Thus mutually weakened, they vacillated, in the fifteenth

century, between the two powers, Sclavonic and Germanic respectively, namely Poland and Austria, that lay on their borders. United, from 1453 to 1458, under a German prince, then forming two independent States under national sovereigns (Bohemia until 1471, Hungary until 1490), they were again united, under Polish princes, until 1526, at which last epoch they passed definitively under the Austrian rule.

PODIEBRAD AND MATTHIAS, 1458.—After the reign of Vladislaus of Austria, which had been rendered so glorious by the exploits of John Hunniades, George Podiebrad possessed himself of the crown of Bohemia, and Matthias Corvinus, son of Hunniades, was elected king of Hungary [1458]. These two princes successfully disputed the chimerical claims of the Emperor Frederick III. Podiebrad protected the followers of Huss, and incurred the enmity of the Popes; Matthias gained glory against the Turks, and obtained the favour of Paul II., who offered him his father-in-law Podiebrad's crown. The latter opposed to Matthias the alliance of the King of Poland, whose eldest son, Vladislaus, he caused to be acknowledged as his own successor on the throne. At the same time Casimir, brother of Vladislaus, attempted to deprive Matthias of the crown of Hungary. Matthias, thus hard pressed on all sides, was obliged to abandon the conquest of Bohemia, and to content himself with the Provinces of Moravia, Silesia, and Lusatia, which, if Matthias died before Vladislaus, were to revert to the latter [1475—1478].

The king of Hungary indemnified himself at the expense of Austria. On the pretext that Frederick III. had refused him his daughter in marriage, he twice invaded, and maintained possession of his Dominions. In this great prince Christendom lost her principal Champion, and with him too perished the conquests and the political preponderance of Hungary [1490]. The higher form of civilisation which he had endeavoured to introduce into that kingdom, was there postponed for centuries. We have (Chapter I.) spoken of what he accomplished in behalf of literature and the arts. By his *Decretum majus* he organised military discipline, abolished judicial combats, forbad his subjects wearing arms at fairs and markets, prescribed that punishments should no longer be extended to the relatives of the criminal, that his property should not be confiscated, that the king should not accept the ownership of gold or salt mines, &c. without compensating the proprietor in whose lands they might be found, &c.

VLADISLAUS.—Vladislaus (of Poland), king of Bohemia, having been elected king of Hungary, was attacked by his brother John Albert, and by Maximilian of Austria, who both laid claim to this crown. He satisfied his brother by the cession of Silesia [1491], and Maximilian by giving the house of Austria the reversion of the kingdom of Hungary, in case he himself should die without male issue. Under this sovereign, and under his son Louis II. who succeeded him while still a minor, in 1516, Hungary was overrun by the Turks with impunity.

III. POLAND.—Poland, united in 1386 to Lithuania by Vladislaus Jagellon, first prince of that dynasty, was, in the fifteenth century, the chief power among the Sclavonic states. Sheltered from Turkish invasion by Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania, disputing the possession of Lithuania with Russia, of Hungary and of Bohemia with Austria, she contended at the same time with the Teutonic Order for Prussia and Livonia. The source of her weakness was the jealousy that subsisted between the two nations of different languages that together made up her State. The Jagellons, Lithuanian princes, would have gladly seen their country exempted from all obedience to the Polish laws, and in possession once more of Podolia. The Poles reproached Casimir IV. with "passing the autumn, winter, and spring in Lithuania."

TREATY OF THORN, 1466.—Under Casimir, second son of Vladislaus Jagellon, fifth of that name, the Poles protected the Sclavonians of Prussia against the tyranny of the Teutonic Knights, and compelled the latter to become parties to the treaty of Thorn [1466], by which the Order lost Western, and became the vassal of Poland for Eastern Prussia. Who would then have predicted that Prussia would one day dismember Poland? At the same time, the Poles placed a sovereign on the thrones of Bohemia and of Hungary [1471—1490]. The three brothers of Vladislaus, John Albert, Alexander, and Sigismond I. were successively elected kings of Poland [1492, 1501, 1506], made war on the Wallachians and on the Turks,

and gained brilliant successes over the Russians. Lithuania, which, at the accession of John Albert, had been separated from Poland, was definitively united to it by Alexander.

POLISH CONSTITUTION.—About 1466, the constantly recurring exigencies of incessant warfare caused the introduction into Poland of Representative Government; but the pride of the nobles, who were alone represented by their *Nuncios*, maintained the anarchical forms of the ages of barbarism; *unanimous assent* was still indispensable in their deliberations. Still more careful were the Poles not to abandon, on important occasions, the ancient usage; and the countless host of the *pospolite* was seen, as in mediæval times, debating sword in hand.

IV. RUSSIA.—In the fifteenth century, the Russian population consisted of three classes: the Boyards, descendants of the conquerors; the free peasantry, their tenants, and whose condition was sinking gradually nearer to serfdom; and the serfs.

The Grand-Duchy of Moscow was constantly threatened: on the West, by the Lithuanians and the Livonians, on the East by the golden horde of Tartars, from Casan and from Astrakhan; it was further hemmed in by the commercial republics of Novgorod and of Plescow, and by the principalities of Twer, Verea, and Riazan. To the north, lay many wild countries and heathen peoples. The Muscovite nation, still in a state of comparative barbarism, but dwelling, at any rate, in fixed habitations, could hardly fail to incorporate the roving tribes of Tartars. Neither could the Grand-Duchy, as a

hereditary state, well fail to prevail, sooner or later, over the elective ones of Poland and Livonia.

1462—1505. IVAN III.—To the Golden Horde he opposed an alliance with the Tartars of the Crimea; to the Lithuanians, one with the Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as with Matthias Corvinus and Maximilian. He sowed dissension between Plescow and Novgorod, which could only resist him effectually by making common cause against him, gradually sapped the strength of the latter Republic, made himself supreme in it in 1477, and crippled it by carrying off its principal citizens. Further strengthened by an alliance with the Khan of the Crimea, he imposed a tribute on the inhabitants of Casan, refused to pay that which had been levied from his predecessors by the Golden Horde, who were speedily destroyed by the Nogai Tartars [1480]. Ivan united under his sway Twer, Verea, Rostow, Yaroslaw. He waged a long war with the Lithuanians, but Alexander, having united Lithuania to Poland, entered into an alliance with the Livonian Knights; and the Czar, who, since the destruction of the Golden Horde, had paid less attention to his allies in Moldavia and the Crimea, entirely lost his ascendancy; he was defeated at Plescow by Plattenberg, Grand Master of the Livonian Knights [1501], and the very year of his death [1506] Casan revolted against the Russians.

IVAN IV.—Ivan was the first who assumed the title of Czar. Having obtained from the Pope the hand of Sophia Palæologina, who had

taken refuge at Rome, he adopted, on his armorial bearings, the double eagle of the Greek empire. He attracted to his Court, and forcibly detained, Greek and Italian artists. He first granted fiefs to the Boyards on condition of military service; he established an approach to order in the finances; instituted a postal system, condensed into one code [1497] the ancient forms of judicial proceedings, and made an unsuccessful attempt to distribute among the Boyards the ecclesiastical domains. Ivan had, in 1492, founded Ivangorod, (the future site of Petersburgh), when the victories of Plattenberg excluded the Russians, for two centuries, from availing themselves of the Baltic for the extension of their empire.

CHAPTER V.

First Series of Italian Wars, 1494—1516.

Louis the Moor calls in the French.—Charles VIII. invades Italy.—League against the French.—Battle of Fornovo, 1495.—Louis XII. invades the Milanese, 1499.—His war with the Spaniards of Naples.—Defeat of the French on the Garigliano, in 1503.—Alexander VI. and Cæsar Borgia; Julius II.—Revolt of Genoa against Louis XII., 1507.—Italy, The Empire, France, and Hungary conspire against Venice. The *Holy League* against France, 1511-12.—Victories and death of Gaston de Foix. Ill success of Louis XII. 1512-14.—Francis I. invades the Milanese. Battle of Marignano, 1515.—Treaty of Noyon, 1516.

When, at the present day, we traverse the Maremme of Siena, and detect so many other traces in Italy of the wars of the sixteenth century, we experience an indescribable feeling of melancholy, and are inclined to curse the Barbarians, who first converted this fair country into a wilderness. These desolate Maremme were made such by one of Charles V.'s generals; those mouldering ruins were once palaces, burnt by Francis I.'s lansquenets; those damaged paintings of Julius Romanus still bear witness, that the soldiers of the Constable of Bourbon stabled their horses in the Vatican. Yet, let us not be over-hasty to condemn our forefathers. The Italian wars were not the result of mere caprice, on the part either of sovereign or of people. For more than half a century an irresistible impulse drove over the Alps all the nations of the West, as formerly those of the North had

obeyed a similar impulse. The calamities were almost as cruel in the present case as in the other, but the result was the same; the conquerors were raised to the pitch of civilisation previously attained by the conquered.

LOUIS THE MOOR INVITES THE FRENCH INTO ITALY.—Louis the Moor, alarmed at the menacing attitude of the King of Naples, whose grand-daughter had married his own nephew, Gian Galeazzo (*see* Chapter I.), resolved to maintain his usurpation by the help of the French. But he little knew the character of the power he was introducing into Italy. He was himself seized with astonishment and terror, when he saw, descending from Mount Genèvre (September 1494), that formidable army, that, in the variety of its accoutrements, its arms, and its languages, seemed itself to amount to an incursion of all the nations of Europe: French, Basques, Bretons, Swiss, Germans, and even Scotch; and those invincible men-at-arms, and the heavy bronze field-pieces that the French had learnt to transport as rapidly as their armies. Italy was now to witness an entirely new mode of warfare. The ancient tactics, according to which squadron after squadron was led on to battle, were at once superseded by the impetuosity of the French, and the more collected, but not less furious, onset of the Swiss. War ceased to be a mere affair of tactics. It was to be henceforth terrible, merciless; the conqueror did not even understand the cry for mercy uttered by his vanquished foe. The soldiers of Charles VIII., full of suspicion and hatred against a country in which they feared being

poisoned at every meal, made a rule of massacring their prisoners.

SAVANAROLA.—At the approach of the French the old governments of Italy break up of their own accord. Pisa shakes off the yoke of the Florentines; Florence that of the Medici. Savanarola receives Charles VIII. as the "Scourge of God" sent to punish the sins of Italy. Alexander VI., who, up to that time, had been treating at once with the French, the Aragonese, and the Turks, hears in alarm the sentence of the Council condemning him to be deposed, and takes refuge in the castle of St. Angelo. He tremblingly delivers up the brother of Bajazet II., whom Charles VIII. purposes to make his tool, for conquering the Eastern Empire; but he poisons, before surrendering, him. Meanwhile, Alfonso II., the new king of Naples, escapes to a convent in Sicily, leaving the defence of his kingdom to a sovereign only eighteen years old. The young Ferdinand II. is abandoned at San Germano, and witnesses the pillage of his palace by the Neapolitan populace, always infuriated against the vanquished. The French men-at-arms, now dispensing with the burden of their heavy armour, pursue this peaceful contest in undress, and take no further trouble than that of sending on their quartermasters, to engage them accommodation. The Turks soon see the French banner floating on the ramparts of Otranto, and the Greeks purchasing arms. The partisans of the House of Anjou, who, for sixty years, had been despoiled of their possessions, had expected that Charles VIII.'s victory would have

been their own. But this prince, who cared little for any services they might have rendered to the Provençal sovereigns, exacted no restitution from the opposite party. He dissatisfied all the nobility by announcing his intention of limiting the jurisdiction of the feudal courts, as had been done in France. He appointed French governors over all the towns and fortresses, and thus led several towns to raise the Aragonese flag. At the end of three months, the Neapolitans were heartily tired of the French, and the latter of Naples; they had forgotten their schemes of Oriental conquest; they were impatient to return, and recount their brilliant adventures to the French ladies.

Fornovo, 1495.—Meanwhile, an almost universal league had been formed against Charles VIII. It was high time for him to make good his return to France, if he wished to avoid being shut up in the kingdom that he had come to conquer. As he descended the Apennines on his return march, he encountered, at Fornovo, the army of the allies, 40,000 strong; the French were only 9,000. After fruitlessly demanding, they forced, a passage, and the hostile forces attempting to bar their progress, were put to flight by the charges of the French cavalry. Thus the king re-entered France, crowned with the laurels of a victory, that seemed to justify his previous rashness.

Death of Savanarola.—The Italians, thinking themselves rid of the French, called Savanarola to account for his sinister predictions. His party, the *Piagnoni* (or Penitents), who had restored Florence to freedom, and reformed

it, saw his credit entirely decline. The friends of the Medici, whom they had persecuted without mercy, the Pope Alexander VI., against whose licentiousness Savanarola inveighed with the greatest freedom, seized the opportunity for destroying a faction that no longer commanded the fickle enthusiasm of the Florentines. A Franciscan monk, wishing, according to his own account, to prove Savanarola to be an impostor, and destitute of the gifts both of prophecy and of working miracles, offered to pass with him across a burning pile. On the appointed day, when the pile was arranged, and all the people in eager expectation, both parties raised difficulties, and a heavy shower of rain falling, completed the ill-humour of the people. Savanarola was arrested, condemned by the Papal commissioners, and burned alive. When the sentence was read to him, by which he was cut off from the Church, "From the Church Militant," said he, hoping henceforth to be a member of the Church Triumphant [1498]. Italy became but too painfully conscious of the truth of his prophecies.

Louis XII., 1498.—Partition of the Kingdom of Naples.—The very day fixed for Savanarola's ordeal, Charles VIII. died at Amboise, leaving his throne to the Duke of Orleans, Louis XII., who united to the claims of his predecessor over Naples, that which his grandmother, Valentina Visconti, transmitted to him, over the Milanese. As soon as his marriage with the widow of Charles VIII. had secured the union of Brittany to the French crown, he invaded the Milanese, in concert with the

Venetians. Both the hostile armies were partly composed of Swiss; those in Louis the Moor's ranks would not fight against the banner of their Canton, which they saw displayed in the army of the King of France. They accordingly deserted the Duke of Milan. But, on their return to their own mountains, they occupied Bellinzona, which Louis XII. was obliged to make over to them, and which was serviceable to them as the key to Lombardy. After conquering the Milanese, Louis XII., who despaired of subjugating the kingdom of Naples while opposed by the Spaniards, by a secret treaty shared this kingdom with them. The unfortunate Frederick, who was then on the throne, summons the Spaniards to his support, and after putting his principal fortresses into the possession of Gonsalvo de Cordova, is informed of the partition treaty [1501]. This detestable conquest only bred fresh warfare. Both nations claimed the tolls levied on the flocks, that were transferred in spring from the Capitanate to the Abruzzo; this formed the most profitable item of the Neapolitan revenue. Ferdinand amused Louis XII. by negotiating a treaty, until he had reinforced Gonsalvo, who was cooped up in Barletta, with a sufficient number of men to enable him to assume the offensive. The genius of the "Great Captain," and the discipline of the Spanish infantry, everywhere prevailed over the brilliant courage of the French men-at-arms. The prowess of Louis d'Ars and of D'Aubigny, the exploits of Bayard, who was said to have defended a bridge against a whole army, did not save the French from being

defeated at Seminara, at Cerignola, and from being expelled, for the second time, from the kingdom of Naples, by their defeat on the Garigliano [Dec. 1503].

Death of Alexander VI., 1503.—Louis XII. was, however, still master of a large part of Italy; sovereign of the Milanese, and lord of Genoa, in alliance with Florence, and with the Pope Alexander VI., who relied for support entirely upon him; he was also extending his influence over Tuscany, Romagna, and the Roman States. The death of Alexander VI., and the ruin of the Pope's son proved, however, as disastrous to him as his defeat on the Garigliano. This power of the Borgias, rising as it did, on Italian soil, like a barrier between the possessions of the French and those of the Spaniards, served as a sort of advanced post, for the protection of the Milanese.

Cæsar Borgia deserved to be selected as Machiavelli's ideal of a statesman, not because he had shown himself more perfidious than the other princes of this period; Ferdinand the Catholic might have put in his claim on *that* ground; not because he had been the murderer of his brother, and the paramour of his own sister; he could not exceed his father in depravity and in cruelty; but because he had reduced crime to a science, because he formed a school for its propagation, and trained proficients in it.* Yet the very hero of the system, by his ill-success, signally belied its efficacy. In

* Machiavelli somewhere says: — "He has sent one of his pupils." Hugo of Moncada, one of Charles V.'s generals, prided himself on having been formed in this school.

alliance with Louis XII. and *Gonfaloniere* of the Church, he employed, for six years, all the resources of stratagem and valour.

He fancied he was working for his own benefit; he told Machiavelli he had anticipated every emergency; at the death of his father, he hoped to secure the election of a Pope through the medium of eighteen Spanish Cardinals, named by Alexander VI.; in the Roman States he had gained over the smaller nobility, and destroyed the power of the higher; he had exterminated the petty tyrants of Romagna; he had secured the affections of the people in that province, who enjoyed unwonted tranquillity under his firm and able administration. He had anticipated every emergency, except that of his being himself ill at the time of his father's death; and this was precisely what happened. It is said, that the father and the son, who had invited a Cardinal to an entertainment in order to make away with him, drank the poison intended for the latter. "This man, who is so politic, seems to have lost his head," wrote Machiavelli at the time [14th November 1503]. He allowed the new Pope, Julius II., to extort from him the surrender of all the fortresses that he was in possession of, and afterwards proceeded to deliver himself up to Gonsalvo de Cordova, fancying that "The word of others would be worth a whit more than his own" (letter on 4th November). But the general of Ferdinand the Catholic, who used to say, that "The web of honour ought to be of very loose texture," sent him into Spain, where he was imprisoned in the citadel of Medina del Campo.

JULIUS II.—Julius II. prosecuted the conquests of Borgia with less exclusively personal aims. He sought to make the Pontifical state the ruling one in Italy, to deliver the whole Peninsula from "the Barbarians," and to constitute the Swiss the guardians of Italian liberty. Wielding alternately spiritual and temporal weapons, this intrepid Pontiff wore away his life in the execution of this contradictory project; the Barbarians could only be expelled by means of Venice, and Venice must be humbled before the Church could be raised to the rank of the leading state of Italy.

At first Julius II. sought to liberate his countrymen the Genoese, and encouraged their revolt against Louis XII. The nobles, favoured by the French Government, were constantly insulting the people; they went about armed with daggers, on which they had had engraved "*Castiga villano.*" The people rose in revolt, and made a dyer Doge. Louis XII. soon appeared under their walls at the head of a fine army; the Chevalier Bayard with little difficulty scaled the heights that commanded Genoa, and cried out to the insurgents: "Hark ye, tradesmen, defend yourselves with your ells, and let pikes and lances alone, which you are not accustomed to handle." The king, not wishing to cause the ruin of so wealthy a city, only enforced the hanging of the Doge and of some other individuals, burnt the charters of the town, and raised a fortress on the Lanthorn, to command the entrance of the harbour [1507].

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY, 1508.—The same jealousy that animated monarchies against

republics, and poor nations against industrial opulence, soon armed the majority of the princes of the West against the ancient rival of Genoa. The Government of Venice had contrived to reap advantage from the faults and the misfortunes of all the other powers; it had been a gainer by the fall of Louis the Moor, by the expulsion of the French from Naples, and by the ruin of Cæsar Borgia. Such uninterrupted success excited the fear and the jealousy of the Italian powers themselves, who ought to have been studiously desirous of the greatness of Venice. "Your lordships," wrote Machiavelli to the Florentines, "have always told me that it was the Venetians who were formidable to the liberties of Italy." As early as the year 1503, M. de Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in the Milanese, said to the same ambassador: "The Venetians shall be made to confine their attention in future to fishing; as to the Swiss, they are safe enough." [January 22]. This conspiracy against Venice, which had existed since 1504, (Treaty of Blois), was ratified anew in 1508 (League of Cambray, 10th December), through the imprudence of Julius II., who was determined at any price to recover certain towns in Romagna. The Pope, the Emperor, and the King of France invited the King of Hungary to become a party to the league, that he might recover Dalmatia and Sclavonia. Even the inferior powers, the Dukes of Savoy and of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua, were eager to strike a blow at those, of whom they had so long stood in awe. The Venetians were defeated by Louis XII. at the bloody battle of Agnadello [1509], and the

French artillery ranged up to the Lagunes themselves. At this perilous crisis, the Venetian Senate did not belie its reputation for wisdom. It declared its wish to spare the provinces of the Republic the miseries of war, released them from their oath of allegiance, and engaged to indemnify them for their losses on the return of peace. Whether from attachment to Venice, or from hatred of the Germans, the peasantry of the Veronese territory suffered execution rather than desert the standard of St. Mark and go over to the Imperialists. The Venetians defeated the Marquis of Mantua, recovered Padua, and defended it against Maximilian, who besieged it with an army of 100,000 men. The King of Naples and the Pope, who had obtained their objects, came to terms with Venice; and Julius II., now intent only on expelling the *Barbarians* from Italy, directed his impetuous policy against the French.

THE HOLY LEAGUE.—The Pope's schemes were but too much favoured by the short-sighted economy of Louis XII., who had reduced the pay of the Swiss troops, and who forbad their henceforth living at free quarters in Burgundy and in the Milanese. It then became apparent how false a step Louis XI. had taken in replacing the "Free-Archers" by the mercenary levies of Swiss infantry, and thus placing the destinies of France in the hands of strangers. For the Swiss had now to be substituted German lansquenets, whom the Emperor recalled on the eve of the battle of Ravenna. In the meantime the Pope had opened the war;

he summoned the Swiss into Italy, and induced Ferdinand, Venice, Henry VIII., and Maximilian, all to enter into the "Holy League" against France [1511-12]. Whilst Louis XII., uncertain whether he should not be committing sin by defending himself against the Pope, is consulting Doctors, and assembling a council at Pisa, Julius II. besieges Mirandola in person, takes up his quarters close under the batteries of the town, surrounded by his trembling Cardinals, and makes his entry into the place through the breach.

GASTON DE FOIX.—The impetuosity of Julius II., the schemes of the allies, were, for an instant, disconcerted by the brief apparition of Gaston de Foix, nephew of Louis XII., at the head of the French army. This youth of twenty-two arrives in Lombardy, gains three victories in as many months, and is cut off, leaving behind him the reputation of the most fiery general that Italy had yet beheld. In the first place, he intimidates or gains over the Swiss, and sends them back to their native mountains; he raises the siege of Bologna, throwing himself into it with his army under cover of a snow-storm and a hurricane [7th February]; on the 18th he appeared before Brescia, which the Venetians had retaken; on the 19th he had stormed it; on the 11th of April he died, after gaining the victory of Ravenna. In the terrifically rapid tide of his successes, he spared neither his own men nor the vanquished. Brescia was for seven days given over to the fury of the soldiery; it is said that the conquerors butchered 15,000 persons—men, women,

and children. Few followed the chivalrous example of Bayard.

Gaston, on his return into Romagna, attacked Ravenna, in order to compel the Spanish and Papal armies to accept battle. After the opening of the cannonade, Pedro Navarro, who had organised the Spanish infantry, and who relied upon them for the victory, kept them lying down flat, coolly waiting till the balls should have cut up the men-at-arms on both sides. Those of the Italians lost all patience, and exposed themselves to defeat from the French. The Spanish infantry, after maintaining the contest with obstinate valour, slowly retired. Gaston could not brook this, charged them with about a score of horsemen, forced his way into their ranks, and there met his fate [1512].

Thenceforth Louis XII. was uniformly unsuccessful. The Sforzas were restored to Milan, the Medici to Florence. The French king's army was defeated by the Swiss at Novara, and by the English at Guinegate. France, assailed in front by the Spaniards and the Swiss, in rear by the English, saw her two allies, Scotland and Navarre, conquered or despoiled. (*See* Chapter II.) None of the parties were interested in continuing the war. The Swiss were virtually ruling at Milan, in the name of Maximilian Sforza; France and Venice were humbled, the Emperor was exhausted, Henry VIII. discouraged, Ferdinand satisfied by the conquest of Navarre, which left the frontier of France unprotected. Louis XII. concluded a truce with Ferdinand, renounced the Council of Pisa, abandoned the Milanese to Maximilian

Sforza, and married the sister of Henry VIII. [1514]. (As to his internal administration *see* below.)

FRANCIS I., 1515.—MARIGNANO.—Whilst Europe believes France to have shared the prostration and premature decline of Louis XII., she displays, under his successor Francis I. [1st January 1515], resources altogether unexpected. The Swiss who imagine themselves to be in possession of all the passes over the Alps, are amazed to hear that the French army has made its way down through that of Argentière. 2,500 lances, 10,000 basques, 22,000 lansquenets, have effected a passage through a defile, that had never been trodden before except by the chamois-hunter. The French army, still offering terms, advances as far as Marignano: there the Swiss, who were supposed to have been gained over, fall upon the French with their pikes, eighteen feet long, and their two-handed swords, without artillery or cavalry, availing themselves of no other military resource than sheer physical strength, marching straight up to the cannon's mouth, whole ranks falling at every round; but the rest sustaining more than thirty charges from the huge war horses, covered, like their riders, with steel. In the evening, they had succeeded in separating the divisions of the French army. The king, who fought valiantly, now saw around him only a mere handful of cavalry. But, during the night, the French rallied, and the battle recommenced at day-break, more furiously than ever. At length the Swiss hear the war cry of the Venetians, the allies of the French,

"*Marco! Marco!*" Under the impression that the whole Italian army was approaching, they closed their ranks and retired, but with so fierce an aspect, that the French did not venture to pursue them. Having obtained from Francis I. more money than Sforza could give them, they did not re-appear in Italy. The Pope also negotiated with the conqueror, and secured from him the treaty for a Concordat, abolishing the Pragmatic Sanction. His alliance with the Pope and with Venice seemed to leave the road to Naples open to Francis I. The young Charles of Austria, Sovereign of the Netherlands, who had just succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand the Catholic on the throne of Spain, required peace to enable him to secure his authority over this vast inheritance. Francis I. enjoyed, instead of completing, his victory. The treaty of Noyon restored a momentary repose to Europe, and allowed the two rivals leisure to prepare for a still more terrible war [1516].

SECOND PERIOD.

[1517—1648].

In contemplating the mere succession of wars and of political events, the sixteenth century appears an age of blood and of desolation. It opens with the ravaging of Italy by the mercenaries of Francis I. and of Charles V., and the terrible devastations annually perpetrated by Soliman in Hungary. Then follow those dreadful contests of religious creeds, in which the war is not waged only between nations, but between towns, and even individuals, and penetrates to the domestic hearth, setting the very father and the son at variance. He who should desist from the history at this crisis, might well imagine that Europe was about to relapse into a state of profound barbarism. And yet, far from that being really the case, the fair and tender flower of arts and of civilization flourishes and gains strength, in the very midst of the rude shocks that seem about to prove its destruction. Michael Angelo frescoes the Sistine Chapel the very year of the battle of Ravenna. The youthful Tartaglia escapes wounded from the sack of Brescia to become the restorer of Mathematical science. The golden age of Jurisprudence among the moderns, the age of L'Hôpital and of Cujacius, is also the age of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The special characteristic of the sixteenth century, and one which pre-eminently distinguishes it from the middle ages, is the power of public opinion; then it is that this power becomes the true "*Queen of the World.*" Henry VIII. does not venture to divorce Catherine of Aragon until he has consulted the chief Universities of Europe. Charles V. endeavours to prove the steadfastness of his faith by persecuting the Moriscoes, whilst his armies take the Pope prisoner and hold him to ransom. Francis I. raises the first piles for the burning of the French Protestants, the better to exculpate himself, in his own and his subjects' eyes, for his alliance with Soliman and the German Lutherans. Even these acts of intolerance were so many acts also of homage rendered to public opinion. Princes at this time paid court to men most unworthy to become the dispensers of future renown. The kings of France and of Spain bid against each other for the favour of Paulus Jovius and of Aretino.

Whilst France, at a considerable interval, follows Italy in the display of hitherto unexampled ingenuity and intelligence, two other nations, both profoundly serious in character, abandon to them the cultivation of literature and the arts, as vain toys or profane amusements. The Spaniards, a people given to conquest and political organisation, derive their strength, like the Romans of old, from their attachment to venerable maxims, and ancient credence. Engrossed in the task of subduing and ruling Europe, they repose, in all matters of speculation, on the foundation of Church authority.

Whilst Spain is tending more and more to political and religious unity, Germany, with its anarchical constitution, assumes unlimited license in the adoption of opinions and systems. France, placed between these two nations, will supply, during the sixteenth century, the chief battle-field for the struggles of these two opposite spirits. There the contest will be the longer and the more violent, inasmuch as the rival forces are more equal than in either of the other countries.

CHAPTER VI.

Leo X.—Francis I.—Charles V.

Francis I., 1515.—Charles V. Emperor, 1519.—First war with Charles V., 1521.—Defection of the Duke of Bourbon, 1523.—Battle of Pavia, 1525; Captivity of Francis I.; Treaty of Madrid, 1526.—Second War, 1527.—Peace of Cambray, 1529.—Open Alliance of Francis I. with Soliman, 1534.—Third War, 1535.—Truce of Nice, 1538.—Resumption of hostilities, 1541.—Battle of Cérisoles, 1544.—Treaty of Crépy. Death of Francis I. and of Henry VIII., 1547.—Internal condition of France and Spain.—The Reformation.—First Persecutions, 1535.—Massacre of the Vaudois, 1545.

Francis I. and Charles V.—However severe a judgment it may be right to pass on Francis I. and Leo X., they must not be put on a par with that ignominious race of princes who flourished at the close of the preceding age (Alexander VI., Louis XI., Ferdinand the Catholic, James III., &c.) There is a certain glory, a certain grandeur, in their very faults. They did not create their age, no doubt, but they showed themselves worthy of it: they loved the Arts; and even at the present day the Arts still plead for them, and demand their acquittal at the bar of posterity. The money raised by the Indulgences—the sale of which aroused Germany—defrayed the cost of the Vatican Paintings and of the building of St. Peter's. Duprat's exactions are forgotten;—the Royal Press, the College of France, still survive.

Charles V. presents himself to our imagination under a sterner aspect, surrounded by his

statesmen and generals; Lannoy, Pescara, Antonio de Leyva, and so many other famous warriors. He is seen constantly travelling over Europe, to inspect the scattered members of his vast Empire, addressing each people in their own tongue, alternately at war with Francis I. and the German Protestants, with Soliman and the Barbary States. He is the true successor of Charlemagne, the defender of the Christian World. Yet in him the statesman prevails over the warrior. He exhibits the earliest type of the sovereigns of modern times; Francis I. is but a Paladin of mediæval romance.

When the imperial throne became vacant by the death of Maximilian I. [1519], and the kings of France, Spain, and England each sought to fill it, the electors, not inclined to provide themselves with a master, offered it to one of their own number, Frederick "*The Wise*," Elector of Saxony. The latter prince secured it for the king of Spain, and, in so doing, quite acted up to his name. For although of the three candidates, Charles V. was most in a condition to prove formidable to the liberties of Germany, he was also best able to defend it against the Turks. Selim and Soliman were at that time inspiring terror similar to that felt by Europe during the reign of Mahomet II. He who was master at once of Spain, of the kingdom of Naples, and of Austria, was alone able effectually to ward off from the civilized world the Barbarians of Asia and of Africa.

Thus commenced, in their contest for the imperial crown, the sanguinary rivalry of Francis I. and Charles V. The former claimed

Naples on his own behalf and Navarre on that of Henry d'Albret; the emperor demanded the restoration of the Milanese, as a fief of the Empire, and of the Duchy of Burgundy. Their resources might be considered pretty equal. If Charles' territories were more extensive, they were not compact and united like the French king's country. His subjects were more wealthy, but his authority was more limited than that of Francis. The reputation of the French *Gendarmerie* stood as high as that of the Spanish infantry. He would be the victor who could induce the king of England to side with him. Henry VIII. might well assume the motto—"He whose cause I maintain is master." Both pension Cardinal Wolsey, his prime minister; both solicit the hand of Mary, his daughter,—the one for the Dauphin, the other for himself. Francis I. has an interview with him near Calais, and quite forgetting that his interest is to make him his friend, throws Henry into the shade by his own grace and magnificence. Charles V., more expert, had anticipated this interview by himself paying a visit to Henry VIII. in England. He had secured Wolsey, by inspiring him with hopes of the tiara; and independently of this, he had a much easier part to play than Francis I. Henry VIII. already bore the king of France no good will, for governing Scotland through the Duke of Albany, his nephew and subject, to the prejudice of Margaret, widow of James IV. and sister of the king of England. By allying himself with Charles V., he might be able to recover some portion of the territories that his ancestors had formerly owned in France.

All went well with the Emperor. He secured the adhesion of Leo X., and afterwards had the credit of raising his old master, Adrian of Utrecht, to the Papacy. The French, who made their way into Spain, arrived too late to co-operate with the insurgents [1521]. Lautrec, Governor of the Milanese, who was said to have banished from Milan almost half its inhabitants, was driven out of Lombardy. The following year he suffered the same fate; the Swiss in his army, whose pay was in arrear, insisted on being disbanded or allowed to fight, and were defeated at Bicocca. The money intended for the troops had been otherwise expended by the queen-mother, from her hatred of the general.

THE CONSTABLE OF BOURBON.—At the very time when Francis I. was thinking of marching again into Italy, a domestic foe placed France in the greatest danger. The king had wronged the Constable of Bourbon, one of those who had been foremost in gaining the victory of Marignano. Charles Count of Montpensier and Dauphin of Auvergne, held by right of his wife, who was granddaughter of Louis XI., the Duchy of Bourbon, the counties of Clermont, of La Marche, and other domains, that altogether constituted him the first nobleman in the kingdom. At the death of his wife, the queen-mother (Louisa of Savoy), who had wished to become the wife of the Constable, but whose advances he had rejected, being unable to marry, sought to ruin him. She contested his right to the above rich heritage, and her son consented provisionally to the sequestration of the property. Bourbon, in despair, adopted the resolution of going over to the Emperor [1523].

A century earlier, revolt did not at all imply disloyalty. The leaders of French chivalry had not scrupled to become members of the "League for the Public Weal." Quite recently, Spain had witnessed the case of Don Pedro, who, dissatisfied with the rule of Charles V., had declared to his face that he renounced his allegiance to him, and had assumed the command of the insurgent Commons. But in the present instance, there was no question of a revolt against the king; in France such a step was at this time impossible. What Bourbon was now plotting with foreigners amounted to a conspiracy against the very political existence of France. He had promised Charles V. that he would make an attack upon Burgundy as soon as Francis I. should have crossed the Alps, that he would raise five provinces in which he believed his influence to be all-powerful; the kingdom of Provence was to be revived in favour of the Constable; and France, partitioned out between Spain and England, would have ceased to exist as a nation. He soon had an opportunity of rejoicing at the misfortunes of his native land. He became the general of the Emperor's armies, and saw the French flee before him at Biagrassa; he saw the Chevalier Bayard lying mortally wounded at the foot of a tree, with his face towards the foe, and addressing him said:— "That he was right sorry for him, seeing him in such evil case, for that he had been so true a knight. Unto whom the Captain, Bayard, made answer: Sir, pity is none for me, for I die a leal man. But 'tis you I pity, for that I

see you serving against your prince, and your country, and your oath." (*Du Bellay*). Bourbon fancied that immediately he re-appeared in France, his vassals would come and rally round him under the banners of the stranger. Not a soul stirred. The Imperialists were repulsed at the siege of Marseilles; and they only saved their army by a retreat that was more like a flight. Instead of overwhelming the Imperialists in Provence, the king preferred stealing a march on them into Italy.

PAVIA, 1525.—In an age of military science and of elaborate tactics, Francis I. still imagined himself to be living in that of chivalry. He made it a point of honour not to retreat, even for the purpose of securing a victory. He persisted in the siege of Pavia [1525]. He would not allow the ill-paid Imperialists time to disperse of their own accord. He weakened himself by sending away a detachment of 12,000 men towards the kingdom of Naples. His superior strength lay in his artillery; he was for deciding the victory by the *Gendarmerie*, as at Marignano; he made a charge right in front of his own guns, and thus rendered them useless. The Swiss fled; the lansquenets were overpowered, together with their colonel, the "White Rose." The whole brunt of the battle then fell upon the king and his heavy cavalry. The veteran heroes of the Italian wars, La Palisse and La Trémouille, were borne down; the king of Navarre, Montmorency, Fleuranges ("The Adventurous"), and a host of others, were made prisoners. Francis I. defended himself on foot: his horse had been killed under him: his armour,

which is still preserved, was entirely riddled with bullets and pike-thrusts. Fortunately, one of the French gentlemen who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, recognised and saved him; but he would not surrender to a traitor, and called for the viceroy of Naples, who received his sword, kneeling. In the evening, according to the *tradition*, he wrote a single sentence to his mother: "Madam, all is lost, save honour."

CAPTIVITY OF THE KING.—TREATY OF MADRID.—Charles V. well knew that all was *not* lost; he did not at all overrate his success; he felt that France was yet entire and strong, in spite of the loss of an army. He only meditated extorting from his prisoner a favourable treaty. Francis I. had arrived in Spain, fancying, according to his own disposition, that an interview with his "Good Brother" would be sufficient to induce the latter to grant him an honorable return to his own kingdom. But this was a great mistake. The Emperor treated his prisoner with severity, to compel his assent to harder terms. Europe, meanwhile, evinced the most lively interest in this "soldier king." Erasmus, a subject of Charles V., ventured to send him a letter, pleading the cause of his captive. The Spanish nobles demanded that he should be released on parole, offering themselves to become responsible for him. It was not until a whole year had elapsed, and Charles began to fear that death would snatch his prisoner from his grasp, until Francis I. had abdicated in favour of the Dauphin, that he determined to liberate him, and then not without compelling him to sign a shameful treaty. The king of

France abandoned his claims upon Italy, engaged to do justice to Bourbon, to cede Burgundy, to give his two sons as hostages, and to ally himself by a double marriage with the family of Charles V. [1526].

At this price he obtained his release. But from that fatal prison he emerged an altered man; he left there for ever that fidelity to his engagements, that heroic confidence, that had hitherto been his pride and his glory. Even at Madrid he had executed a secret protest against the treaty. When restored to his kingly power, he had no great difficulty in evading its conditions. Henry VIII., alarmed at the success of Charles V., had entered into a league with France. The Pope, Venice, Florence, Genoa, even the duke of Milan, who ever since the battle of Pavia had felt that they were at the mercy of the imperial armies, now regarded the French only in the light of deliverers. Francis I. induced the states of Burgundy to declare, that he had no right to cede any part of the French territory; and when Charles V. demanded the execution of the treaty, and taxed Francis with perfidy, the latter replied that the Emperor "lied in his throat," challenged him to single combat, and offered him the choice of arms.

Sack of Rome, 1527.—Whilst Europe was awaiting a dreadful war, Francis I. thought only of committing his allies, in order to excite the apprehensions of Charles V., and so improve the terms of the treaty of Madrid. Italy was now a perpetual prey to the most hideous form of war that can disgrace human nature; indeed it was hardly war at all so much as a

prolonged chastisement inflicted by a ferocious soldiery on an unarmed population. The irregularly-paid troops of Charles V. were, in reality, neither in his, nor in any other, service; they forced their own generals to do their bidding. For ten entire months Milan was left a prey to the cold-blooded brutality of the Spaniards. As soon as it became known in Germany that Italy was thus given up to plunder, 13,000 or 14,000 Germans crossed the Alps under George Frondsberg, a furious Lutheran, who wore round his neck a gold chain, with which he meant, he said, to strangle the Pope. Bourbon and Leyva led, or rather followed, this bandit force. On its way, its numbers were swelled by a rabble of Italians, who, unable to emulate the valour, copied but too faithfully the vices, of the Barbarians. The army proceeded by way of Ferrara and Bologna; it was on the very point of halting in Tuscany, and the Spaniards were constantly swearing, "By the glorious sack of Florence;" but an irresistible impulse seemed to drive the Germans, as, in other times, the Goths their ancestors, onwards to Rome. Clement VII., who had been in treaty with the viceroy of Naples, and who nevertheless saw Bourbon's army continue to approach, sought to close his eyes to the impending danger, as though he were fascinated by its very greatness. At the approach of the Imperialists he dismissed his best troops, perhaps fancying that Rome, though unarmed, would yet in some degree overawe them. Early on the morning of the 6th of May, Bourbon gave orders for the assault

[1527]. He wore over his mail a vest of white tissue, that both his own men and the enemy might more easily distinguish him. In so horrible an enterprise, success alone could raise him again in his own estimation; seeing that his German infantry were slack in their exertions, he seized a scaling ladder, and was in the act of mounting it, when a ball struck him in the groin; he felt at once he was a dead man, and ordered his attendants to cover his body with his cloak, and thus conceal his fate. His soldiers but too well avenged him. From 7,000 to 8,000 Romans were butchered the first day; nothing was spared, neither convents, nor churches, not even St. Peter's; the public squares were strewn with relics and altar-decorations that the Germans had thrown away, after stripping them of their gold and silver. The Spaniards, still more avaricious and bloodthirsty, every day, for almost a year, repeated the most frightful abuse of the rights of conquest; nothing was heard but the cries of wretches whom they were torturing to death, to force them to confess where they had concealed their wealth. They bound them prisoners in their own houses, that they might be sure to find them again when they wanted to recommence torturing them.

LAUTREC.—DORIA.—The indignation of Europe reached its height on the announcement of the sack of Rome and the imprisonment of the Pope. Charles V. ordered prayers to be offered up for the deliverance of the Pontiff, who was a prisoner in the hands of the Imperial army, rather than in those of the Emperor.

Francis I. thought the present a favourable opportunity for introducing into Italy the troops that, some months sooner, might have saved Rome and Milan. Whilst the Imperial generals treated with their soldiers to persuade them to leave Rome, Lautrec marched upon Naples; but, as in the former war, he was left unsupplied with money for the pay of the troops. The plague ravaged his army. No fatal loss, however, had as yet been incurred, provided only the communication by sea with France were kept open. Francis I. was rash enough to provoke the Genoese Doria, the first seaman of the time. "It seemed," says Montluc, "as if the sea itself were afraid of this man." The ransom of the Prince of Orange had been kept back from him; the use of his galleys was left unpaid; and the appointment of Admiral of the Levant had been given to another; but he was more indignant than on any other account, because Francis I. did not respect the privileges of Genoa, and endeavoured to remove the commerce of that city to Savona. Far from giving him any satisfaction as to these various grounds of complaint, the king issued an order for his arrest. Doria, the term of whose engagement in the French service had just expired, offered to enter that of the Emperor, on condition that his native State should remain independent, and he reinstated in its supremacy over Liguria. Charles V. offered to acknowledge him as Prince of Genoa, but he preferred to be the first citizen of a free city.

Treaty of Cambray, 1529.—Meanwhile, both parties were anxious for peace. Charles V.

was alarmed at the progress of the Reformation, and at the invasion of the formidable Soliman, who marched to Vienna, and sat down before it. Francis I., whose resources were exhausted, now thought only of making terms, at the expense of his allies. He wished to recover his children, and to retain possession of Burgundy. Up to the very eve of the treaty, he protested solemnly to his Italian allies that he would on no account separate their interests from his own. He refused permission to the Florentines to make a peace on their own account with the Emperor; and he signed the treaty of Cambray, by which he abandoned them, the Venetians, and all his other Italian partizans, to the vengeance of Charles V. [1529]. This disgraceful treaty permanently expelled the French from Italy. Henceforth, the seat of the war will be in various other parts of Europe, in Savoy, in Picardy, in the Netherlands, and in Lorraine.

CHARLES V. IN AFRICA, 1535. — Whilst Christendom was looking forward to tranquillity, a scourge hitherto unknown was depopulating the coasts of Italy and of Spain. The people of the Barbary States about this time began the "trade in white men." The Turks first devastated the countries they intended to occupy; thus they converted the south of Hungary, and the eastern provinces of the former Greek Empire, almost into a wilderness. The Tartars and the Barbary tribes, the forlorn hope, so to speak, of the Ottoman host, co-operated with it, (the former in the east, the latter in the south of Europe), in this system of kidnapping. The Knights of

Rhodes, whom Charles V. had settled at Malta, were too weak to clear the Mediterranean of the countless vessels with which Barbarossa, Dey of Tunis and Soliman's admiral, covered its waters. Charles V. determined to assail the pirate in his own haunt [1535]. Five hundred vessels carried across to Africa an army of 30,000 men, consisting in a great measure of the veteran bands that had fought in Italy. The Pope and the King of Portugal had lent their contributions to this fleet. Doria had united his galleys with it, and the Emperor, with the *élite* of the Spanish nobility, was on board it. Barbarossa had no force sufficient to make head against the most formidable armament that Christendom had equipped against the infidels, since the time of the Crusades. Goletta was taken by assault, Tunis surrendered, and 20,000 Christians, delivered from slavery, and restored to their respective countries at the Emperor's expense, brought blessings on the name of Charles V. throughout Europe.

ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCIS I. AND SOLIMAN.—To this, the conduct of Francis I. presented a sad contrast. He had just disclosed his alliance with Soliman [1534]. He was negotiating with the German Protestants, and with Henry VIII., who had divorced Charles V.'s aunt, and severed himself from the Church of Rome. From none of these quarters did the French king derive the help that he anticipated. Soliman lost his splendid corps of Janissaries in an expedition to the boundless plains of Asia. Henry VIII. was too much engrossed at home

in the religious revolution which he conducted with so high a hand. The Smalkaldic League could not trust a prince who caressed the Protestants at Dresden and burnt them at Paris. Still Francis I. renewed the war, causing Savoy to be invaded, and the Milanese menaced, by his forces [1535]. Tne Duke of Savoy, alarmed at the pretensions of the French king's mother (Louisa of Savoy), had married Charles V.'s sister-in-law. The Duke of Milan, whom the Emperor had accused of treating with the French, had attempted to clear himself by beheading the ambassador of Francis I. on a frivolous pretext. Charles V. announced at Rome, in the presence of the envoys of all the Christian powers, his assurance of victory, declaring that, "were he as helpless as his rival, he would immediately go, with his hands tied behind him and a halter round his neck, throw himself at his feet, and beg for mercy." Before opening the campaign, he distributed to his officers the domains and the high offices of the French crown.

PROVINCIAL LEGIONS.—And, indeed, the general impression was that the cause of Francis I. was lost. The immense internal resources of France were little understood. As early as the year 1533, the king had at length decided upon making the military strength of France consist in its *infantry*, and in a *national* infantry. He remembered that the Swiss had occasioned the loss of the battle of Bicocca, and perhaps that of Pavia also; that on the eve of the battle of Ravenna the Emperor had recalled the lansquenets. But it was said to be incurring a

formidable risk, thus to place arms in the hands of the people. In an ordinance relative to field-sports, issued in 1517, Francis I. had forbidden, under heavy penalties, the general use of arms. Nevertheless, he now determined to create seven provincial legions, each 6,000 strong, and levied in the frontier provinces. These troops were still in a very raw state when the armies of Charles V. entered, at one and the same time, Provence, Champagne, and Picardy. Hence Francis I., not relying too much on their courage, resolved to arrest the enemy's progress, by compelling him to march through a desert. The whole of Provence, from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to Dauphiny, was devastated, with relentless severity, by the Marshal Montmorency; villages, farms, mills, everything was burnt, every vestige of cultivation destroyed. The Marshal, entrenched in an impregnable camp between the Rhone and the Durance, patiently waited till the Emperor's army should have spent its force before Marseilles. Charles V. was compelled to retreat, and to consent to a truce, mediated by the Pope (at Nice, 1538). One month after, Charles and Francis had an interview at Aigues-Mortes, and these princes, who had so grossly insulted each other, one of whom accused the other of having poisoned the Dauphin, swore, mutually, fraternal friendship.

Impoverishment of Charles V. — The exhaustion of the two rivals was, however, the sole cause of the truce. Although Charles V. had endeavoured to gain over the Cortes of Castile, by sanctioning the permanent deputation, similar

to that in Aragon, and by re-enacting the law excluding foreigners from office, he had not succeeded in obtaining a supply of money, either in 1527, in 1533, or in 1538. Ghent had taken up arms, rather than submit to a new impost. The administrative system in Mexico was not yet organised; Peru was still in the hands of its conquerors, who were desolating it by their civil wars. The Emperor had been compelled to dispose of a large portion of the royal domains, had contracted a debt of 7,000,000 of ducats, and could not obtain a loan from any bank, even at 13 or 14 per cent. This impoverishment on the part of Charles V. excited, about the year 1539, an almost universal revolt in his armies. They rose in Sicily, pillaged Lombardy, and threatened to deliver up Goletta to Barbarossa. It became absolutely necessary to find means, at any sacrifice, for defraying the arrears of their pay, and to disband the majority of them.

IMPOVERISHMENT OF FRANCIS I.—The King of France was in similar perplexity. Since the accession of Charles VIII. the national wealth had rapidly increased, under the genial influence of internal tranquillity; but the expenditure far exceeded the revenue of the government. Charles VII. had maintained 1,700 men-at-arms. Francis I. kept up as many as 3,000, exclusive of 6,000 light cavalry, and frequently 12,000 or 15,000 Swiss. The taxes under Charles VII. produced less than two millions; under Louis XI. five; under Francis I. almost nine millions. To meet these expenses, the Kings had never, since 1484, convoked the States-General

(except on one single occasion at Tours in 1506, and simply for the purpose of annulling the Treaty of Blois). They substituted for them assemblies of notables [1526], and most frequently raised money by means of ordinances, which they compelled the Parliament of Paris to register; Louis XII., "The Father of his People," at first lightened the burden of taxation, and raised money by the sale of financial posts [1499]; but towards the end of his reign he was compelled to retrace his steps, to exact loans, and to part with crown-lands [1511-14]. Francis I. established new taxes (particularly in 1523), sold and multiplied judicial offices [1515, 1522, 1524]; for the first time levied tolls on the Hôtel de Ville; alienated the royal domains [1532, 1544]; and, lastly, established the royal lottery [1539].

He had the advantage, such as it was, over Charles V., in being able, more easily than he, to pursue this downward course. He availed himself of it when the Emperor had failed signally in his great expedition against Algiers [1541-2]. Two years previously, Charles V., on his way through France to put down the rising at Ghent, had amused the king with a promise of making over the Milanese to the duke of Orleans, his second son. The Duchess of Etampes, whose influence over Francis was paramount, seeing him failing, and fearing the hatred of Diana of Poitiers, mistress of the Dauphin, interested herself in procuring for the duke of Orleans an independent principality, where she might herself take refuge at the death of Francis I. To this main cause of the

war that now ensued, may be added the assassination of two French envoys, who, as they were crossing Italy on their way to the Court of Soliman, were killed in the Milanese, by order of the Emperor's governor there, who wished to obtain possession of their papers. Francis I. relied upon his alliance with the Turks, and upon his connection with the Protestant Princes of Germany, Denmark, and Sweden; he had, in particular, attached to his interests William, Duke of Cleves, by inducing him to marry his own niece, Jeanne d'Albret, afterwards mother of Henry IV. of France. He invaded almost at one and the same time Rousillon, Piedmont, Luxemburg, Brabant, and Flanders. Soliman united his fleet with that of the French; and they battered the fortress of Nice without result. But the hateful spectacle of the Crescent waving alongside of the *Fleurs-de-lis*, damaged the French King's cause in the eyes of all Europe. Even those who had hitherto been in his favour, now disregarding the interests of Europe, hastened to join Charles V. The Empire declared against the ally of the Turks. The King of England, who had made his peace with Charles V. since the death of Catherine of Aragon, joined the opposition to Francis I., who had given his daughter in marriage to the King of Scotland. Henry VIII. defeated James V. [1542]; Charles V. overpowered the Duke of Cleves [1543]; and both of them, having now nothing to fear in their rear, combined for the purpose of invading the dominions of Francis I. France, single-handed against this confederacy, dis-

played unlooked-for vigour; she fought with five armies, and struck her enemies with astonishment at the brilliant victory of Cérisoles, won by the infantry after the Gendarmerie had been discomfited. Charles V., indifferently supported by Henry VIII., and whose presence was urgently required in Hungary to check the progress of Soliman, signed, within thirteen leagues of Paris, a treaty, by which Francis gave up his claim to Naples, and Charles V. his to Burgundy; and it was further agreed that the Duke of Orleans should obtain the investiture of the Milanese [1545]. The Kings of France and of England soon after concluded terms of peace, and both died the same year [1547].

The long contest between the two great European powers is still far from its close; but henceforth it becomes complicated with the religious struggle, which can only be understood by tracing the progress of the Reformation in Germany. At this point we shall pause to look back, and consider the internal condition of France and Spain, during the rival reigns of Francis I. and Charles V.

SPAIN.—In Spain, the royal authority was rapidly tending to become as absolute as it had already become in France. Charles V., following his father's example, enacted several laws without the consent of Cortes. In 1538, the nobility and clergy of Castile, having rejected the general imposition of a tax upon the retail sale of commodities, the King of Spain ceased to summon them to Cortes, alleging that they had no right to vote on the imposition of taxes

which they did not pay. The Cortes now consisted exclusively of thirty-six members, sent by the eighteen cities that were at this period alone represented. The nobles too late repented of the aid they had rendered to the King, for the purpose of crushing the insurrection of the Commons in 1521.

The power of the Spanish Inquisition increased the more rapidly in proportion as the disturbances in Germany more and more led Charles V. to dread the political results of the innovations in religion. The Inquisition was introduced into the Low Countries in 1522; and, but for the obstinate resistance of the Neapolitans, it would have been established among them in 1546. After the tribunals of the Inquisition had been for some time deprived of the authority of Royal courts [1535—1545, in Spain; 1535—1550, in Sicily], it was finally restored to them. Ever since 1539, the Inquisitor General had, during the absence of the Emperor, governed Spain in the name of the Infant, afterwards Philip II.

FRANCE.—During the reign of Francis I., the royal power reached the greatest height it attained previous to the administration of Cardinal Richelieu. This result was effected, first, by its possessing itself of the ecclesiastical power through the *Concordat* treaty [1515], and then successively limiting the jurisdiction of Church courts [1539], organising a police-system, and silencing the Parliaments. The authority of the Parliament of Paris had been impaired in the reigns of Charles VII. and of Louis XI., by the establishment of those of

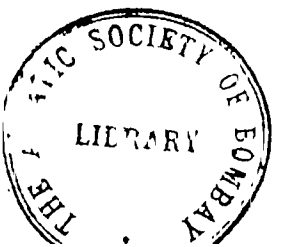
Grenoble, Bordeaux, and Dijon [1451, 1462, 1477]; and in the reign of Louis XII. by the addition of those of Rouen and Aix [1499, 1501]. During the captivity of Francis I. the Paris Parliament attempted to regain some of its importance, and commenced prosecutions against the Chancellor Duprat. But the king, on his return, forbad its further interference in political matters, and still further impaired its influence by multiplying its offices, and putting them up for sale.

Francis I.'s boast had been that he had "rid the French kings of their leading strings." But the growing excitement of men's minds, perceptible enough during his reign, portended new troubles. The spirit of freedom now took a religious form, but was destined, at a later day, to re-animate, with redoubled energy, political institutions. At the outset, the Reformers confined themselves to attacks upon the character and lives of the clergy; the *Colloquies* of Erasmus, of which 24,000 copies were struck off, were soon entirely bought up. The Psalms, translated by Marot, were within a short time sung to lively airs by gentlemen and ladies; while the ordinance prescribing that laws should thenceforth be in the French language, enabled the general public to acquaint themselves with, and discuss, political affairs [1538]. The respective Courts of Margaret of Navarre, and of the Duchess of Ferrara, Renée of France, were the *rendezvous* of all who shared the new opinions. The greatest levity and the most profound fanaticism met together in the persons of Marot

and Calvin at Nerac. Francis I. had originally felt little anxiety at this movement of men's minds. He had protected the earlier French Protestants against the clergy [1523-24]. When, in 1534, he was strengthening his connections with the German Protestants, he invited Melancthon to present a conciliatory confession of faith. He favoured the revolution at Geneva, which place became the very focus of Calvinism [1535]. But, after his return from Madrid, he treated the French Protestants with greater severity. In 1527, and in 1534, the excitement connected with the new doctrines exhibiting itself in outrages on the sacred images, and in placards affixed to the walls of the Louvre, several Protestants were burnt at slow fires, in the presence of the King and of his whole Court. In 1535, he issued an ordinance for the suppression of the press, on pain of death, and, when the parliament protested against this measure, he revoked it the same year, and established the censorship.

The close of the reign of Francis I. was distinguished by a terrible incident. The Vaudois, who inhabited several inaccessible valleys in Provence and Dauphiny, had long retained the Arian doctrines, and had lately adopted those of Calvin. Their strong position amidst the Alps occasioned some uneasiness in France. The Parliament of Aix, in 1540, gave orders for the burning of Cabrière and Mérindol, the chief places where they held their meetings. After the retreat of Charles V. [1545], the decree was carried into execution, in spite of the opposition of Sadoleto, Bishop of

Carpentras. President D'Oppède, the King's Advocate Guérin, and a certain Captain Paulin, who had formerly been employed by the King to negotiate with the Turks, penetrated into the valleys, exterminated their inhabitants with unheard of atrocity, and turned the whole country into a desert. This frightful massacre may be looked upon as one of the first causes of our civil wars.



CHAPTER VII.

LUTHER.—THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY.—WAR WITH THE TURKS 1517—1555.

Luther attacks the sale of Indulgences, 1517. He burns the Pope's Bull, 1520.—Diet of Worms, 1521.—Prussia secularised, 1525.—War of the Swabian Peasantry, 1524-25.—Anabaptism. Catholic, 1524, and Protestant Leagues, 1526.—Turkish war; Soliman, 1521.—Invasion of Hungary, 1526; Siege of Vienna, 1529.—Diet of Spires, 1529. *Confession* of Augsburgh, 1530.—Smalkaldic League, 1530. Insurrection of the Anabaptists in Westphalia, 1534; Commotions and Civil Wars in Germany, 1534-46.—Council of Trent, 1545.—Charles V.'s war with the Protestants; Battle of Muhlberg, 1547.—Maurice of Saxony revolts, 1551.—Peace of Augsburgh, 1555.—Death of Charles V., 1558.

Monarchical power had been established in the several states of Europe, and the system of a general political equilibrium was gradually growing up amongst them, when the ancient religious unity of the West was broken by the Reformation. This event, forming together with the French Revolution the two greatest in modern times, separated half of Europe from the Church of Rome, and occasioned most of the revolutions and wars that followed, until the Treaty of Westphalia. Europe, since the Reformation, has been divided in a manner corresponding with the ethnical diversities of its population. The nations of Roman blood have remained attached to that Church. Protestantism preponderates among those of Germanic stock, the Greek Church retains the allegiance of the Sclavonic populations.

The first period of the Reformation is marked by the differences between Luther and Zwingli, the second by those between Calvin and Socinus. Luther and Calvin adhere, to a certain extent, to the dogmatic system and the hierarchy of the mediæval Church. Zwingli and Socinus gradually lower the standard of their religion almost to mere Deism. The Papal monarchy having been overthrown by the Lutheran aristocracy, the latter is in turn assailed by the Calvinistic democracy; it is a second reform movement within the first. During both the first and the second period, certain ancient anarchical sects, partly composed of Apocalyptic visionaries, revive, and exhibit the Reformation in the formidable aspect of a war against society; these are the Anabaptists in the former, the Levellers in the latter, period.

The spirit of the Reformation was essentially one of movement and progress. At discord with itself from its very origin, it spread throughout Europe under a hundred varying forms. Successfully opposed in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal [1526], and in Poland [1523], it gained a footing in Bohemia under cover of the privileges of the Calixtins; in England its progress was facilitated by the lingering traces of Wicliffe's teaching; as it proceeded, it adapted itself to every stage of civilisation, and to the political requirements of each country. Democratic in Switzerland [1525]; Aristocratic in Denmark [1527]; in Sweden it allied itself with the rising power of the King [1529]; in the Empire, with the cause of Germanic freedom.

SECTION I.—*Origin of the Reformation.*

THE REFORMATION, 1517.—LEO X.—In the memorable year 1517, to which the commencement of the Reformation is usually referred, neither Europe, nor the Pope, nor even Luther, had any idea of so mighty an event. The Christian Princes were banding together against the Turks. Leo X. was invading the territories of the Duke of Urbino, and raising the temporal power of the Holy See to its highest elevation. In spite of the embarrassed state of his finances, which compelled him to authorise the sale of Indulgences in Germany, and to create at one time thirty-one Cardinals, he was still lavishing the treasures of the Church, with gorgeous recklessness, upon artists and learned men. His emissaries were exploring even Sweden and Norway in quest of monuments, to illustrate the history of the North. He had lately authorised, by a Papal brief, the sale of the *Orlando Furioso*, and received the eloquent letter of Raphael, on the restoration of the Roman antiquities. While thus engaged, he was informed that a Professor of the new University of Wittemberg, Martin Luther by name, who had already obtained notice by hazarding, the previous year, somewhat startling opinions on religious matters, had been attacking the sale of Indulgences. Leo X., who was himself a correspondent of Erasmus, felt no alarm at these novel pretensions; to Luther's accusers he replied that he was a man of talent, and that this dispute was only a monkish broil.

LUTHER.—The University of Wittemberg, recently before founded by the Elector of Saxony, Frederick The Wise, was one of the first in Germany where the Platonic had triumphed over the Scholastic Philosophy, and where general literary culture was blended with the special studies of law, of theology, and of philosophy. Luther, in particular, had at first studied law; subsequently, having assumed the monastic habit at a time of strong religious excitement, he had resolved to draw his philosophy from Plato, his religion from the Bible. But he was less distinguished for his great learning, than for an animated and fervid style of eloquence, and a gift, at that time rare, of treating philosophical and religious topics in his native tongue; "this it was that enabled him to carry away the world" (Bossuet). This impetuous spirit, when once fairly roused, carried him further than he had originally intended. He first attacked the *abuse*, then the *principle* itself of Indulgences, and in succession the Intercession of Saints, Auricular Confession, Purgatory, the Celibacy of the Clergy, Transubstantiation, lastly the authority of the Church, and the character of her visible Head. In vain urged by the Legate Cajetan to retract, he appealed as to his opinions from the Legate to the Pope, and from the latter to a General Council; and when the Pope had condemned him, he ventured to make reprisals, and solemnly burnt, in a public spot, near the eastern gate of the city, at Wittemberg, the bull of condemnation and the volumes of the Canon Law [15th June 1520].

Europe was astounded at so bold a stroke. The majority of sects and heresies had grown up in obscurity, and had been too happy to escape public notice. Zwingli himself, whose preaching, at this same period, was causing half Switzerland to renounce its connection with the Holy See, had not assumed so lofty a tone. Some supernatural power appeared to attach to him, who constituted himself the judge of the Head of the Church. Luther himself represented his boldness and his success as miraculous.

ZWINGLI.—Zwingli, Pastor of Zurich, commenced preaching in 1516; the Cantons of Zurich, of Bâle, of Schaffhausen, of Berne, and the allied towns of St. Gall and of Mullhausen embraced his doctrines. Those of Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwalden, Zug, Fribourg, Soleure, and Valais, remained faithful to the Roman Catholic faith. Glarus and Appenzel were divided. The inhabitants of the Catholic Cantons, among whom democracy prevailed, and who mostly lived outside the towns, retained their ancient usages, and were constantly subsidized by the Pope and the King of France. Francis I. in vain offered his mediation to the Swiss; the Catholic Cantons, on refusing the terms of peace proposed by their opponents, were deprived of provisions by Zurich and Berne. The Roman Catholics invaded the territories of Zurich, and gained a victory over the Protestants, in which Zwingli was slain, fighting at the head of his men. [Battle of Cappel, 1531]. The Catholics, more barbarous and warlike, but less wealthy, naturally gained the

day, but were unable to maintain the war as long as the Protestant Cantons.

CAUSES FAVOURABLE TO THE REFORMATION.—Meanwhile, it was not difficult to perceive what a conjunction of favourable circumstances gave encouragement to the Reformer. The Papal Monarchy, which had alone served to secure any degree of harmony amidst the anarchical chaos of the middle ages, had been successively weakened by the progress of royal authority and of civil order. The scandalous lives of a large body of the Clergy afflicted the Church, and daily sapped more and more the foundations of an edifice already shaken by the spirit of doubt and of contradiction. Two circumstances particularly contributed to ensure its downfal. In the first place, the invention of the art of printing supplied the innovators of the 16th century with a medium for communicating and disseminating their ideas, which had been entirely wanting to those, who during the middle ages aimed at combined opposition to a power, so effectively organised as that of the Church. And in the second place, the financial difficulties of many princes inclined them beforehand to accredit any doctrines, which placed at their disposal the wealth of the Clergy. Europe at that time presented a remarkable spectacle; the immense disproportion between the requirements and the resources of Governments, the natural results of the rise of a central power in each State. The Church paid the *deficit*. Several Catholic Sovereigns had already obtained from the Holy See the privilege of exercising a portion of its

rights. The Princes of the North of Germany, when their independence was threatened by the Master of Mexico and of Peru, found *their* Indies in the secularising of Ecclesiastical property.

GERMANY, THE NATURAL CRADLE OF THE REFORMATION.—The Reformation had already been several times attempted; in Italy by Arnold of Breschia, in France by Waldo, in England by Wicliffe. Germany was the country in which it was destined first to strike deep root. The German Ecclesiastics were more wealthy, and therefore more open to envy, than elsewhere. The Prince-Bishoprics of the Empire were made over to the younger members of great houses, who introduced into the ecclesiastical order the violent and scandalous habits of laymen. But the strongest hatred was excited against the Roman Court, against the Italian Clergy, whose genius for extortion impoverished Germany. Ever since the time of the Roman Empire, the eternal opposition of North and South had been as it were personified in Germany and Italy. In the middle ages, the contest took a regular form; physical and intellectual force, violence and policy, feudal gradation and the Catholic Hierarchy, the hereditary and the elective principle, were all involved in the struggle between the Empire and the priesthood; and when a critical spirit first revived, it assailed persons before it began to question opinions. In the fifteenth century, the Hussites extorted some concessions by a thirty years' war. In the sixteenth, the relations of the Italians and the Germans only served to

increase the inveterate antipathy. The inhabitants of the North, constantly drafted off to the wars in Italy, were scandalised at witnessing the ostentation of the Papal establishment, and the ritual splendour in which the religion of the South delights to invest itself. Their ignorance made them still severer critics; they regarded as profane everything that they did not understand; and when they re-crossed the Alps, they filled their barbarous fellow-citizens with horror, by describing to them "The Idolatrous rites of the new Babylon."

THE DIET OF WORMS, 1521.—LUTHER AT WARTBERG.—Luther was well acquainted with this state of men's minds: when he was cited by the new Emperor to appear before the Diet at Worms, he did not hesitate to comply. His friends reminded him of the fate of John Huss. "I am lawfully summoned to appear at Worms," replied he, "and there I will go in the name of the Lord, though I should be obliged to confront as many devils, confederate against me, as there are tiles on the houses." A host of his partisans wished at least to accompany him, and he entered the town escorted by a hundred knights armed at all points. Having refused to retract, in spite of the public invitation and the private entreaties of Princes and Electors, he was, a few days after his departure, placed under the ban of the Empire. Thus Charles V. declared against the Reformation. He was king of Spain; he required the aid of the Pope in Italy; lastly his title of Emperor and leading Sovereign of Europe constituted him the Champion of the old faith. Similar

motives actuated Francis I.; the new heresy was condemned by the University of Paris. Moreover, the young King of England, Henry VIII., who prided himself on his theological attainments, wrote a book against Luther. But he found warm supporters in the German Princes, especially in the Elector of Saxony, who seems indeed to have urged him on. This Prince had been Vicar Imperial during the interregnum; and then it was that Luther had ventured to burn the Pope's Bull. After the Diet of Worms, the Elector, thinking matters hardly ripe for the movement, determined to save Luther from the effects of his own violence. As the latter was entering the recesses of the Thuringian forest, on his return from the Diet, a party of horsemen, with their faces covered, carried him off and concealed him in the Castle of Wartberg. Confined for almost a year in this fortress, which seems to command all Germany, the Reformer began his translation of the Bible into the language of the people, and inundated Europe with his writings. These theological pamphlets, written from dictation and printed off immediately, made their way into the most remote provinces; they were read in the evenings in the family circle, and the whole Empire heard the words of the invisible preacher. Never had a writer manifested so lively a sympathy with the people. His violence, his low humour, his apostrophes to the worldly great, to the Bishops, to the Pope, to the King of England, whom he treated "with a sublime contempt for them and for Satan," delighted, inflamed Germany; and the burlesque portion

of these popular dramas only made their effect the more telling. Erasmus, Melancthon, and most other learned men excused Luther's self-assertion and grossness, in consideration of the vehemence with which he assailed Scholasticism. The Princes hailed a reformation by which they were gainers. In addition to this, Luther, though he roused the passions of the people, forbad the use of any other weapon than that of *the word*: "It is the word, said he, that, whilst I slept quietly, and drank my beer with my good friend Melancthon, has so shaken the Papacy, that never did prince or emperor do as much."

ALBERT OF BRANDENBURG, 1525.—But he was much mistaken in thinking that he could restrain men's passions, when once aroused, within the bounds of abstract discussion. His principles were soon developed into consequences from which he would have shrunk. The Princes had appropriated the ecclesiastical revenues; Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, secularised an entire State; he married the daughter of the new King of Denmark, and declared himself hereditary Duke of Prussia, and vassal of the Polish Crown; a formidable example in an Empire full of ecclesiastical sovereigns, whom the seductive influence of such an usurpation might well tempt to imitate it [1525].

POPULAR RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION, 1524.—THE ANABAPTISTS.—Yet this was not the greatest danger that was impending. The lower orders, the peasantry, so long torpid under the burden of feudal oppression, heard

the learned and the princes talking of liberty, of deliverance, and applied to their own case what was not intended for them. The complaint of the poor peasants of Swabia, in its simple rusticity, will remain a monument of stout-hearted moderation. Gradually the eternal hatred of the poor against the rich awoke, blind and furious, as in the time of the *Jacquerie*, but already aspiring after organisation, as in that of the *Levellers*.

It assimilated all the various elements of religious democracy that had been erroneously supposed to have been extinguished during the middle ages. Lollards, Beghards, a whole host of apocalyptic visionaries began to bestir themselves. The rallying cry was the necessity of a second baptism, the object a terrible war against the established order of things; against order of every description; a war against property, as involving robbery of the poor; a war against science, as interfering with the natural equality of mankind, and as tempting God, who revealed, they said, all to his Saints; books too, and paintings, were the invention of the Devil. The impetuous Carlostadt had already set the example, rushing from church to church, breaking the images and overturning the altars. At Wittemberg, the students burnt their books under Luther's own eyes. The Thuringian peasants, imitating those of Swabia, followed the enthusiast Muncer, threw Mulhausen into complete confusion, summoned the Mansfeldt miners to arms, and attempted to join their brethren in Franconia [1524]. On the Rhine, in Alsace, in Lorraine,

in the Tyrol, in Carinthia, and in Styria, in every quarter the people flew to arms. They everywhere deposed the magistrates, seized the lands of the nobles, and compelled them to abandon their names and their usual dress, and to assume others similar to their own. All the princes, both Catholic and Protestant, took up arms against them; they made no stand at all against the heavy cavalry of the nobles, and were hunted down like wild beasts.

Section II.

First attempt at a Counter-Reformation.—The conversion of Prussia into a secular State, and, above all, the Anabaptist revolt, exhibited the Reformation in the light of a movement fraught with the most formidable political tendencies. The rival systems of belief, warned by recent events, now embodied themselves in two parties, or rather Leagues (a Catholic one at Ratisbon, 1524, and at Dessau; a Protestant one at Torgau, 1526). The Emperor watched the favourable moment for crushing the one by means of the other, and thus overpowering at once both Catholics and Protestants. Such a moment he thought had arrived when the victory of Pavia placed his rival in his own hands. But as early as the very next year a universal league was formed against him throughout the West of Europe. The Pope and all Italy, as well as his ally Henry VIII. declared war against him. At the same epoch the election of Ferdinand to the united thrones of Bohemia and Hungary involved the

house of Austria in the civil wars of that kingdom, exposed, so to speak, the flank of Germany, and brought her into direct antagonism with Soliman.

SELIM.—SOLIMAN, 1521.—SIEGE OF VIENNA, 1529.—The progress of the barbarous Ottoman power, which was continually closing in upon the Empire, involved its affairs in terrible complexity. Sultan Selim, famed for his rapid conquests, and whose ferocity made the Turks themselves tremble, had recently doubled the extent of territory subject to the Osmanlis. The tiger had, at three springs, seized Syria, Egypt, and Arabia. The brilliant cavalry of the Mamelukes had perished at the foot of his throne, in the wholesale massacre of Cairo. He had sworn to subdue the "*red heads*" (as the Turks call the Persians), previous to turning against the Christians the whole force of the Mahomedan nations. A cancer dispensed him from his oath. "In the year 926 of the Hegira [1521], Sultan Selim passed to the eternal realm, leaving the Empire of the World to Soliman."—(Selim's Epitaph.) Soliman the Magnificent assumed the scimitar at Stambool, the same year that Charles V. received the Imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle. He began his reign by conquering Belgrade and Rhodes, both which places had foiled all the efforts of Mahomet II. [1521-22]. The latter secured to the Turks the sovereignty of the sea, throughout the Levant; the former opened Hungary to their arms. When, in 1526, they invaded that kingdom, the young sovereign Louis had been able to muster only 25,000 men, against an

army of 150,000. The Hungarians, who had, according to ancient custom, deprived the standard-bearer of the Virgin of his spurs, were notwithstanding defeated at Mohatz. Louis was slain in the rout which followed, together with his general Paul Tomorri, Bishop of Colacza, and a great number of other bishops who carried arms in consequence of the constant dangers to which Hungary was exposed. Two kings were simultaneously elected, Ferdinand of Austria, and John Zapoly, Vaivode of Transylvania. Zapoly, obtaining no help from Poland, betook himself to the Turks. Ferdinand's ambassador, the gigantic Oberdanscus, famed for having vanquished in single combat one of the most valiant Pachas, had ventured to brave the power of the Sultan, and Soliman had sworn, that if he did not find Ferdinand encamped before Buda, he would march in quest of him to Vienna. In the month of November 1529, the dark lines of a countless host encircled and completely invested the capital of Austria. Fortunately, a large number of brave men, Germans and Spaniards, had thrown themselves into it. Among them appeared Pedro Navarro and the Count Salm, who, according to the German accounts, had taken Francis I. prisoner at Pavia. After twenty days, and as many assaults, Soliman pronounced a solemn curse against the Sultan who should ever again attack this fatal city. He decamped during the night, breaking down the bridge in his rear, and butchering his prisoners, and, on the fifth day, he made good his retreat to Buda. He

consoled his wounded pride, by crowning Zapoly, an ill-fated Prince, who at the same time watched, from the windows of the citadel at Pest, ten thousand Hungarians, whom the Tartars in the service of Soliman had surprised during the Christmas festivities, and whom they were driving before them like sheep.

How was Germany engaged, while the Turks were clearing all the ancient barriers, and Soliman was scouring with his Tartar hordes the country even westward of Vienna? She was disputing on transubstantiation and free-will. Her most renowned warriors were sitting in the Diet, and putting questions to theologians. Such was the intrepid coolness of this great nation, such its confidence in its strength and numbers.

CONFESSION OF AUGSBURGH, 1530.—SMALKALDIC LEAGUE, 1530.—The Turkish and French wars, the capture of Rome, and the defence of Vienna, so engrossed the attention of Charles V. and of his brother, that the Protestants obtained toleration until the approaching General Council. But after the peace of Cambray, Charles V. seeing France prostrate, Italy subjugated, Soliman repulsed, undertook to adjudicate upon the mighty issue of the Reformation. Both parties appeared at Augsburgh. The followers of Luther, who had received the general name of *Protestants*, ever since they had *protested* against the decree forbidding innovations [Spires 1529], wished to distinguish themselves from all the other opponents of Rome, whose excesses would have brought their own cause into disrepute; such as the republican

Zwinglians in Switzerland, who were most hateful to the princes and the nobles; such, above all, as the Anabaptists, who had been proscribed as hostile to order and to society. The Lutheran Confession of Faith, though softened down in its terms by the learned and pacific Melancthon, who threw himself, with tears in his eyes, between the two parties, was nevertheless rejected as heretical. They were called upon to renounce their errors, on pain of being placed under the ban of the Empire [Augsburgh 1530]. Charles V. even seemed prepared to resort to violent measures, and ordered the gates of Augsburgh to be for a short time closed. Hardly had the Diet been dissolved, when the Protestant Princes assembled at Smalkalde, and there concluded a defensive league, which was to unite them in one body [December 31st, 1530]. They protested against the title of King of the Romans being conferred on Ferdinand. The contingents which each member of the League was to furnish were settled; applications for aid were made to the Kings of France, England, and Denmark, and each held himself in readiness for an immediate contest.

GERMANY AGAIN REUNITED BY SOLIMAN.—The Turks appeared to have undertaken the task of again reconciling the dissentions in Germany. The Emperor received tidings that Soliman had just entered Hungary, at the head of 300,000 men, whilst the Corsair Khaireddin or Barberossa, now become Captain-Pasha, was uniting the kingdom of Tunis to that of Algiers, and overaweing the whole Mediterranean. Charles V. hastened to concede all the

Protestant demands, namely toleration, the retention by its present possessors, until the approaching General Council, of all the ecclesiastical property that had been secularised, and the eligibility of Protestants as members of the Imperial Chamber.

DEFEAT OF THE TURKS.—While this negotiation was pending, Soliman was held in check for a month, before the little town of Ganza, by the Dalmatian Jureschitz. He endeavoured to recover the time that he had lost, by making his way across the impracticable country of Styria, when the mountains were already beginning to be blocked up by ice and snow; but the formidable aspect presented by Charles V.'s army induced him to retreat. Germany, united as one man by the Emperor's promises, had put forth her whole strength. The Italian, Flemish, Burgundian, Bohemian, and Hungarian levies, combined with those of the Empire, had raised their numbers to 90,000 infantry, and 30,000 cavalry, a large proportion of the latter being completely sheathed in mail. Never had an army so completely represented the collective force of Europe since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. The Turkish light cavalry was surrounded and cut to pieces. The Sultan did not recover from his alarm until he emerged from the defiles through which flow the Mur and the Drave, and re-entered the plain of Wazasdin.

THE ANABAPTISTS OF MUNSTER.—JOHN OF LEYDEN.—Francis I. and Soliman alternately engaged the attention of Charles V. The Sultan had invaded Persia, and had marched to Bagdad to be there crowned; the Emperor was

left for a time free from his attacks (*see* his Expedition to Tunis, in the last Chapter); but the King of France assailed him, by assailing his ally Savoy. This new war postponed for twelve years the decisive rupture between the Catholics and Protestants in Germany. But the interval was by no means spent in peace. In the first place, Anabaptism burst out anew in Munster, and in a more terrible form than before. The same fanatical zeal for anarchy led to a hybrid form of government, a monstrous compound of democracy and tyranny. The Anabaptists of Munster modelled their views entirely on the Old Testament; Jesus Christ being of the race of David, his kingdom, they assumed, must be Jewish in constitution. They recognised as two Prophets sent from God, David, and John of Leyden, their leader; and as two emissaries of the devil, the Pope and Luther. John of Leyden was a journeyman tailor, a brave and fierce young man, whom they had made their king, and who was to extend their theocracy throughout the earth. The Princes prevented this.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545.—The Catholics and Protestants, combined for a moment against the Anabaptists, soon relapsed into more inveterate enmity than ever. A General Council was constantly talked of; no party seriously desired one. The Pope feared it, the Protestants objected beforehand to its decisions. The Council (at last assembled at Trent, 1545) might promote the unity of the Catholic hierarchy, but was powerless to restore that of Christendom. Arms alone could now decide

the difference. The Protestants had already expelled the Austrians from Wurtemberg. They plundered Henry of Brunswick, who executed, for his own benefit, the decrees of the Imperial Chamber. They encouraged the Archbishop of Cologne to follow the example of Albert of Brandenburgh, which would have given them a majority in the Council of Electors.

THE BATTLE OF MUHLBERG, 1547.—When the war with France was ended, Charles V. and his brother negotiated with the Turks, and formed a close alliance with the Pope, in order to crush at once the religious and political liberties of Germany. The Lutherans, warned by the imprudence of Paul III., who announced the war as a Crusade, rose 80,000 in number, headed by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. Although deserted by France, England, and Denmark, whose sovereigns had incited them to take up arms, and dissevered from the Swiss by their horror at the "blasphemies of Zwingli," they were still strong enough, had they remained united. Whilst they are pressing Charles V. closely, who is entrenched under cover of the batteries of Ingoldstadt, the young Maurice, Duke of Saxony, who had come to a secret understanding with the Emperor, betrays the Protestant cause, and invades the territories of the Elector, a relative of his own. Charles V. had then merely to overpower the members of the League separately. When the death of Henry VIII., and that of Francis I. [January 28th, March 31st, 1547], had deprived the Protestants of all hope of assistance, he marched against the

Elector of Saxony, and defeated him at Muhlberg [April 24th].

The two brothers abused their victory. Charles V. caused the Elector to be condemned to death by a Council of Spanish Officers, presided over by the Duke of Alva, and extorted from him a resignation of his Electorate, which he transferred to Maurice. The Landgrave of Hesse, whom he had entrapped by a mean stratagem, he kept a close prisoner; and proved that his first object in victory had not been to maintain either the Catholic faith, or the Constitution of the Empire. Ferdinand followed his brother's example. As early as 1545 he had declared himself Soliman's vassal for the kingdom of Hungary, thus reserving all his strength for the contest with Bohemia and Germany. He had re-established the Archiepiscopal See of Prague, which had, at an earlier period, proved so formidable to the Hussites, and he had assumed the hereditary sovereignty of Bohemia. In 1547 he attempted, without the authority of the States, to levy an army, for the purpose of making an attack upon the Saxon Lutherans, who were in alliance with the Bohemians. The army *was* raised, but only to oppose the Prince who was acting in violation of his oaths. The Bohemians entered into a confederacy for the defence of their Constitution, "*and of their language.*" The battle of Muhlberg laid them prostrate at the feet of Ferdinand, who cancelled their privileges.

MARTINUZZI.—Hungary had equal reason to complain of Ferdinand's proceedings. The fatal contest between him and Zapoly had left

this kingdom exposed to the power of the Turks. The whole national party, all those who were equally unwilling to own subjection either to the Turks or the Austrians, had rallied round the Cardinal George Martinuzzi (Uthesenitsch), guardian of Zapoly's young son. This remarkable man, who, at twenty years of age, had been employed in furnishing firewood to the royal palace at Buda, had now become the virtual master of Transylvania. When the Queen Mother called in the Turks, he treated with Ferdinand, as being at any rate a Christian; he aroused the whole country to arms, assembled in a few days an army of 70,000 men, and at the head of his *Heiducks* (Infantry volunteers) carried the city of Lipp, which the Austrians had been unable to reconquer from the infidels. This success, and the popularity which it attested and was likely to increase, excited the apprehensions of Charles V.'s brother. Martinuzzi had given the Transylvanians permission to resist by force the licentiousness of the German soldiers. Ferdinand procured his assassination; but this crime cost him Transylvania. The son of Zapoly was restored; and the Austrians only preserved what they now possessed of Hungary, by paying tribute for it to the Ottoman Porte.

CHARLES V.—Meanwhile Charles V. was oppressing Germany, and threatening Europe. On the one hand, he excepted from the alliance that he proposed to the Swiss, Bâle, Zurich, and Schaffhausen, which he asserted belonged to the Empire. On the other, he proclaimed the Imperial ban against Albert of

Brandenburgh, who had become a feudatory of the King of Poland; he even alienated Ferdinand, and separated the interests of the two branches of the House of Austria, by endeavouring to transfer the succession to the Empire from his brother to his own son. He had introduced the Inquisition into the Netherlands. In Germany he sought to impose both on Catholics and Protestants his *Inhalt (Interim)*, a measure of conciliation which united the two parties only on one point, a common hatred of the Emperor. The Interim was compared, and not without reason, to Henry VIII.'s Eccleciastical Ordinances. The Emperor also assumed papal functions; for when Maurice of Saxony, the Landgrave's son-in-law, demanded the release of his father-in-law, which he had sworn to procure, Charles V. told him that *he* absolved him from his oath. He everywhere carried about with him in his train the Landgrave and the aged Elector of Saxony, as if to triumph in their persons over the liberties of Germany. The venerable Fatherland now, for the first time, saw strangers violate her territory in the name of the Emperor; she was traversed in all directions by Italian mercenaries, by fierce Spaniards, who laid Catholics and Protestants, friends and enemies, alike under contribution.

MAURICE OF SAXONY.—PACIFICATION OF AUGSBURGH, 1555.—Young Maurice, to whom Charles V. was mainly indebted for his victory, was sufficient also singly to bring about the overthrow of this unjust power, that now seemed to bid defiance to all assaults. The Emperor had but transferred to an abler prince the

Electorate of Saxony, and the position of Chief of the German Protestants. Maurice saw that Charles V., who still retained his father-in-law prisoner, was making a mere puppet of him; a host of pamphlets and caricatures, circulated all over Germany, represented him as an apostate, a traitor, the scourge of his country. Maurice concealed his design with profound dissimulation: his first requirement was to levy an army without exciting the alarm of the Emperor; this he effects by undertaking to compel Magdeburgh to accept the *Interim;* but he then unites the troops of the town with his own. At the same time, he carries on a secret correspondence with the King of France. The Emperor, having again refused to restore the Landgrave to liberty, receives at the same moment two manifestos, one from Maurice, in the name of Germany, pillaged by the Spaniards, insulted in the official history of Louis d'Avila; the other from the King of France, Henry II., who styled himself Protector of the Princes of the Empire, and who placed at the head of his manifesto a cap of liberty, between two daggers. Whilst the French are taking possession of the domains of the "Three Bishoprics" (Metz, Toul, and Verdun), Maurice makes a forced march on Inspruck [1552]. The aged Emperor, then ill and without a military force, sets off by night, amidst a terrible storm of rain, and directs his flight towards the Carinthian mountains. Had not a mutiny broken out in Maurice's army, Charles V. would have fallen into his enemy's hands. He was compelled to yield. The

Emperor concluded with the Protestants the convention of Passau, and the ill success of his arms in the war with the French converted this convention into a definitive peace [Augsburgh, 1555]. The Protestants secured the free exercise of their religion, together with the retention of such ecclesiastical property as had been in their possession previous to 1552, and became eligible as members of the Imperial Chamber. Such was the first victory of religious liberty; the spirit of free inquiry, thus legalised, henceforth followed a decided course, in spite of the obstacles that could no longer restrain it.

ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.—The Emperor, abandoned by fortune, who, as he said himself, reserves her favours for the young, left the Empire to his brother, his kingdoms to his son, and retired to bury the remainder of his days in the solitude of St. Just. The obsequies which he celebrated over himself while still alive were but a too faithful image of that faded glory, whose setting he had survived.

CHAPTER VIII.

SECTION I.

MODERN DISCOVERY AND COLONISATION.

DISCOVERIES AND COLONIES OF THE MODERNS.—CHIEF INDUCEMENTS OF THE MODERNS TO EXPLORE, AND ESTABLISH THEMSELVES IN, NEW COUNTRIES.—(1.) Their warlike and adventurous spirit, the desire of enriching themselves by conquest and plunder; (2.) Their commercial spirit, the desire of enriching themselves in the fair way of traffic; (3.) Their religious spirit, the desire of subjecting idolatrous nations to the Christian faith, or of withdrawing themselves from religious disturbances.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PRINCIPAL MODERN COLONIES was effected by the five most westerly nations of Europe, who have successively attained the sovereignty of the seas; the Portuguese and the Spaniards, in the 15th and 16th centuries; the Dutch and the French in the 17th; lastly, the English in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Spanish colonies were originally designed chiefly for the working of mines of the precious metals; those of the Portuguese were intended for commercial purposes, and for the levying of tribute imposed upon the

conquered peoples; the Dutch colonies were essentially commercial; the English, at once commercial and agricultural.

THE CHIEF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ANCIENT AND MODERN COLONIES is, that the former continued united to the State that had founded them only by the ties of a *quasi* parental relation; the latter are considered as strictly belonging to the mother country, which restricts the freedom of their commerce with strangers.

DIRECT CONSEQUENCES OF THE MODERN DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS.—Commerce is no longer conducted either in the same manner or along the same tracks. It is now generally carried on by sea rather than by land; and the great trade of the world passes from the countries washed by the Mediterranean to those further westward. THE INDIRECT RESULTS are innumerable; one of the most remarkable is the rise of the great maritime powers.

CHIEF ROUTES OF COMMERCE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.—During the first half of these ages the Greeks maintained a trade with India through Egypt, and then along the Black and Caspian Seas; in the second half the Italians did the same by way of Syria and the Persian Gulf, and lastly through Egypt.

THE CRUSADES.—THE VOYAGES AND TRAVELS of Ruysbrœck, of Marco Polo, and of Sir John Mandeville, from the 11th to the 14th centuries. Early in the 14th the Spaniards discover the Canaries.

SECTION II.

DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

Prince Henry encourages navigation. Discovery of Madeira, of the Azores, of Congo, 1412—1484; of the Cape of Good Hope, 1486. Vasco de Gama's voyage, 1497-98. Discovery of Brazil, 1500; Almeida and Albuquerque, 1505—1515. Conquest of Ceylon, 1518. First intercourse with China and Japan, 1517—1542. Decline of the Portuguese colonies. Ataide and John de Castro, 1545—1572. Spanish Domination, 1582.

PRINCE HENRY.—It naturally devolved upon the most westerly nation in Europe to commence that series of discoveries, which has spread European civilization over the whole world. The Portuguese, hemmed in by the Spanish states, and constantly at war with the Moors, from whom they had conquered their country, were thus led by circumstances to turn their ambition towards the coast of Africa. After their long crusade of several centuries, the conquerors conceived loftier ideas; they formed the design of going in quest of new infidel nations, whom they might subdue and convert. A thousand venerable traditions inflamed their curiosity, their valour, and their avarice: they longed to behold those mysterious regions, which nature had stocked with monsters, where she had sown gold broad-cast over the surface of the earth. The Prince of Portugal, third son of John I., seconded the national enthusiasm.

He passed his life at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent; there, ever looking on the Southern Seas, he directed the operations of the bold pilots, who were the first to visit these unknown parts. They had already doubled Cape Non, the limit which fate seemed to have fixed for the ancient navigators; Madeira had been discovered [1412-13]. Then, in succession, Capé Bojador, and Cape de Verde were passed; the Azores discovered [1488]; and the formidable line crossed, where it had been believed that the air burnt like fire. After proceeding beyond the Senegal, the adventurers beheld with astonishment, that the natives who had been dusky to the north of that river, became, south of it, entirely black. On arriving at Congo, they found themselves under a new firmament and new stars [1484]. But the spirit of discovery was most powerfully stimulated by the gold that they had found in Guinea.

The Cape of Good Hope. 1486.—The accounts of the ancient Phenicians, who alleged that they had made the circuit of Africa, began now to find more favour; and it was hoped that by following the same track, the East Indies might be reached. Whilst King John II. was sending a deputation of two gentlemen (Covilhan and Payva) overland to India, Bartholomew Diaz touched at the Cape, that forms the southernmost point of Africa, and named it the Cape of Storms; but the King, now certain of discovering the new way to India, called it "The Cape of Good Hope" [1486].

At this juncture it was that the discovery of the New World astounded the Portuguese, and

excited their emulation to the highest pitch. But the two nations might have disputed the empire of the sea; recourse was had to the Pope; Alexander VI. divided between them the two new worlds; all that lay east of the Azores was to belong to Portugal; all west of these Islands was assigned to Spain. An imaginary line was traced on the globe, marking the limits of these respective ownerships, and called the line of demarcation. But new discoveries soon superseded this line.

Vasco de Gama. 1497-8.—At length the King of Portugal, Emmanuel the Fortunate, gave the command of a fleet to the famous Vasco de Gama [1497-8]. He received from the Prince the account of Covilhan's voyage; he took with him ten men condemned to death, whom he was to employ on an emergency, and who, by their boldness, were to have an opportunity of earning their pardon. He passed a night in prayer in the Chapel of the Virgin, and took the Communion, the night before he sailed. The people, amidst general weeping, conducted him to the shore. A magnificent convent has been erected on the very spot whence Gama took his departure.

The fleet was nearing the Cape of Terrors, when the crew, in consternation at so tempestuous a sea, mutinied against Gama. Nothing could turn him from his purpose; he put the ringleaders in irons, and, himself taking the helm, he doubled the extreme point of Africa. Still more serious dangers awaited him on the eastern coast, which no European vessel had ever yet visited. The Moors, who carried on

the commerce between Africa and India, laid plots for the destruction of the new comers, whose presence would interfere with their own monopoly of traffic. But the artillery spread a panic amongst them, and Gama, traversing the great gulf, 700 leagues wide, that separates Africa from India, landed at Calicut, thirteen months after his departure from Lisbon.

On landing upon this unknown shore, Vasco ordered his men not to follow him, or to come to his rescue, if they heard he was in danger. In spite of the arts of the Moors, he induced the Zamorin to accept the alliance of Portugal.

ALVARES CABRAL.—The first expedition was quickly followed by a second, under the orders of Alvares Cabral; the Admiral had received from the King's hands a hat which had been blessed by the Pope; after passing the Cape de Verde Islands, he struck out into the open sea, took a very westerly course, and came in sight of a new country, rich and fertile, a region of eternal spring; this was Brazil, that portion of the American continent which is the least remote from Africa. Between this land and Mount Atlas there are only thirty degrees of longitude: it ought naturally to have been the first part of America discovered [1500].

ALBUQUERQUE. 1505—1515.—The address of Cabral, of Gama, and of Almeida, the first Viceroy of the Indies, disconcerted the efforts of the Moors, spread dissension among the natives, armed Cochin against Calicut, and Cannanore. Quiloa and Sofala in Africa, owned subjection to the Europeans. But the principal founder of the Portuguese Empire in the Indies

was the valiant Albuquerque; he captured Ormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf, the most splendid and refined city in Asia [1507]. The Persian sovereign, whose dependency it had been, demanded a tribute from the Portuguese; Albuquerque shows the Ambassadors some bullets and hand-grenades, with the remark:—"Such is the coin in which the King of Portugal pays tribute!"

THE VENETIANS.—Venice, meanwhile, saw the sources of her wealth drying up; the overland route by way of Alexandria was beginning to be neglected. The Sultan of Egypt no longer received the duties he had been accustomed to levy on the passage of eastern merchandise through his territories. The Venetians, in league with him, sent to Alexandria timber for ship-building, which was conveyed to Suez, and there employed in constructing a fleet [1508]. With this some successes were at first gained over the scattered vessels of the Portuguese; but it was eventually defeated, as well as the other armaments, which continued to descend the Red Sea. To prevent new attacks, Albuquerque made proposals to the King of Abyssinia for turning the course of the Nile, which would have converted Egypt into a desert.

He made Goa the principal seat of the Portuguese establishments in India [1510]. The occupation of Malacca and of Ceylon gave the Portuguese the complete ascendancy in the vast ocean that runs up into the Bay of Bengal [1511-18]. The conqueror died at Goa, poor and neglected. With him disappeared from among the vanquished all justice, all humanity.

Long after his death, the Hindoos used to frequent the tomb of the great Albuquerque, praying justice from him against the oppressions of his successors.

THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE.—The Portuguese, having effected an entrance into China and Japan [1517-42], for some time had in their own hands all the maritime commerce of Asia. Their Empire extended over the coasts of Guinea, of Melinda, of Mozambique, and of Sofala, as well as over those of the two Indian Peninsulas, over the Moluccas, Ceylon, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago.

But in all this vast extent of country they really owned little more than a line of fortresses and factories. Several causes accelerated the decline of their colonies: (1.) The remoteness of their conquests; (2.) The scanty population of Portugal, by no means proportioned to the extent of these establishments; national pride prevented the blending of the conquering with the conquered race; (3.) The taste for piracy, which soon supplanted the genuine commercial spirit; (4.) Misgovernment; (5.) The monopoly of trade by the Crown; (6.) The Portuguese contented themselves with conveying their goods to Lisbon, and did not distribute them over Europe. They were sure to be superseded sooner or later by more enterprising rivals.

JOHN DE CASTRO.—The decline of their Empire was retarded by two heroes, Joam de Castro [1545-48] and Ataide [1568-72]. The former was compelled to encounter the combined forces of the Turks and Indians. The King of Cambay had received from the great

Soliman a supply of engineers and other workmen, and all the appliances of European warfare. Nevertheless Castro relieved the citadel of Diu, and celebrated a triumph at Goa, after the manner of the generals of antiquity. He was in want of funds to repair the fortifications of Diu; he levied a loan from the citizens of Goa in his own name, pledging them his moustaches, as a security for the money. He expired in the arms of St. Francis Xavier, in 1548. Only three reals were found in the possession of this man, who had had the management of the treasures of the Indies.

ATAIDE.—During the administration of Ataide occurred a general rising of the Indians against the Portuguese: he faced his enemies on every side; defeated both the army of the King of Cambay, a hundred thousand strong, and the Zamorin; and compelled the latter to swear that he would thenceforth maintain no vessels of war. Even while he was still blockaded in Goa, he refused to abandon the most remote possessions of the Portuguese Crown, and despatched to Lisbon the fleet that annually conveyed thither the tribute of the Indies.

After his administration the general decline of the Empire proceeded rapidly. The Portuguese power was still further weakened by the distribution of its territories into three governments. At the death of Sebastian, and of his successor Cardinal Henrique [1581], Portuguese India shared the fate of the Mother Country, and passed into the unskilful hands of the Spaniards [1582], until the Dutch relieved them of the task of governing this extensive empire.

CHAPTER IX.

Discovery of America.—Conquests and Settlements of the Spaniards in the 15th and 16th Centuries.

Christopher Columbus. Discovery of America, 12th October 1492. His second voyage, 1493. His third, 1498.—Discovery of the Pacific Ocean, 1513.—Cortes, Conquest of Mexico, 1518—1521.—Pizarro. Conquest of Peru, 1524—1533.—Various other discoveries and Settlements, 1540—1567.

"This is the greatest event that has ever happened on our globe, one-half of which had always been unconscious of the existence of the other half. Everything that has hitherto appeared great seems to vanish away, in comparison with this, as it were, new creation of a world.

"Christopher Columbus.—Columbus, impressed by the achievements of the Portuguese, conceived the design of a yet mightier enterprise; and inferred, by the mere study of a map of the world as then known, that there ought to be another corresponding to it; and that it would be found by keeping a due westerly course. His courage equalled the strength of his understanding, and even surpassed it, inasmuch as he had to encounter the prejudices of all the crowned

heads of Europe. Genoa, his native place, treated him as a visionary, and thus lost her only chance of greatness in the future. Henry VII. of England, more greedy of money than ready to risk it on so noble an enterprise, rejected the application of Columbus' brother; while the great navigator himself experienced a refusal in Portugal from John II., whose views were directed exclusively towards Africa. He could not apply to France, where navigation was little attended to, and matters were in more than ordinary disorder during the minority of Charles VIII. The Emperor Maximilian possessed neither harbours for a fleet, nor money to fit it out. Venice might have undertaken the expedition; but whether it was that the aversion entertained by the Genoese for the Venetians prevented Columbus from applying to the standing rival of his native state, or that Venice sought the path of greatness exclusively in her commerce with Alexandria and the Levant, Columbus centered all his hopes in the Court of Spain. Yet it was only after eight years spent in solicitation, that the Court of Isabella consented to accept the service tendered by the citizen of Genoa. The Spanish Court was poor; the Prior Perez and two merchants of the name of Pinzon were obliged to advance 17,000 ducats to defray the cost of the armament. Columbus obtained a patent from the Court, and sailed at length from the port of Palas in Andalusia with three small vessels, and the empty title of Admiral.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA, 1492.—SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS, 1493.—"From the Cana-

ry Islands, where he touched to water his ships, he took only thirty-three days to discover the first of the West Indian Islands [October 12, 1492], and, during this short passage, he had to sustain more murmurs from his crews, than he had experienced refusals from the Princes of Europe. This island, lying about 1,000 leagues from the Canaries, was named San-Salvador. Immediately after he discovered the other Bahamas, Cuba, and Hispaniola, now called Saint Domingo. Ferdinand and Isabella were immensely astonished at seeing him return, at the end of seven months, bringing with him some of the natives of Hispaniola, a collection of curiosities from the new world, and especially a quantity of gold which he presented to them. The King and Queen made him sit down without uncovering in their presence, as one of the Spanish nobility, and nominated him High-Admiral and Viceroy of the New World; he was everywhere regarded as a special emissary of Heaven. All now were eager to embark and sail under his orders. He departs once more with a fleet of seventeen ships ['1493]. He discovers more new Islands, the Antilles, and Jamaica. On his first voyage, doubt was changed into admiration of him; but on his second, admiration gave place to envy.

"He was Admiral, Viceroy, and might justly add to these titles that of benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Commissioners, however, who had been sent out on board his fleet to watch his conduct, carried him back a prisoner to Spain. The people, hearing that Columbus was landing, rushed to meet him as though he

were the guardian genius of Spain; he was led out of the vessel, but he appeared with fetters on his hands and feet.*

"His third Voyage. 1498.—He had been thus treated by the orders of Fonseca, Bishop of Burgos, superintendent of Indian affairs. The ingratitude of the act equalled the services he had rendered. Isabella was thoroughly ashamed of the gross affront that had been offered him, and made such amends for it as she was able; but Columbus was retained in inaction for four years; whether fears were entertained that he might assert his exclusive right to the sovereignty of his discoveries, or that sufficient leisure only was sought to investigate his conduct. At length, he was sent forth once more to visit his new world [1498]. It was on this third voyage that he caught sight of the Continent of America, within ten degrees of the Equator, and surveyed the coast at the point where Carthagena has been since built." (Voltaire).

His Fourth Voyage.—In a fourth voyage [1501-4], the unfortunate Columbus was refused shelter in the very harbour that he had himself discovered. He ran aground on the coast of Jamaica, and remained there a year, perfectly helpless; and thence he wrote an affecting letter to Ferdinand and Isabella. He returned to Spain, worn out with exertion and suffering, and sank under the tidings of the death of his Protector Isabella [1506].

* This is a mistake. It was his *third* voyage that ended in this deplorable manner.—*Ed.*

"AMERICO VESPUCCI.—Little do the ashes of Columbus now reck of the fame that he enjoyed during his life—the fame of having doubled the works of creation; but men love to render justice to the departed, whether they flatter themselves with the hope that thus the living will be more likely to come in for their share, or that they have a natural affection for truth. Americo Vespucci, a Florentine merchant, enjoyed the glory of giving his name to the newly discovered half of the world, in which he did not own an inch of ground; he affected to have been the first discoverer of the Continent. Even were it true that he *did* make this discovery, he would not be entitled to the glory of it; *that* belongs, unquestionably, to him who had the genius and the courage to undertake the first voyage." (Voltaire.)

THE SPANIARDS IN THE ANTILLES.—LAS CASAS.—Whilst bold navigators are prosecuting the task commenced by Columbus, while the Portuguese and the English are discovering North America, and Balboa from the heights of Panama beholds the Southern Ocean rolling at his feet [1513], the blind avarice of the Spanish settlers was depopulating the Antilles. These first conquerors of the new, were the very dregs of the old world. Adventurers, eager to regain their own country, could not await the slow returns of agriculture and steady industry. Their sole idea of riches was gold. This misconception cost America ten millions of inhabitants. The feeble and delicate race that originally inhabited the country soon sank under excessive and unwholesome labour. The popu-

lation of Hispaniola was reduced, in 1507, from a million to sixty thousand. In spite of the beneficent injunctions of Isabella, in spite of the efforts of Ximenes, and the pathetic appeals of the Dominicans, the process of depopulation spread far and wide between the tropics. No one raised his voice in favour of the Americans more courageously and obstinately than the celebrated Bartholomew de Las Casas, Bishop of Chiapa, "The Protector of the Indians." Twice he returned to Europe, and solemnly pleaded their cause before Charles V. The account which he gives, in his "*Destruycion de las Indias*," of the barbarous treatment to which these unhappy people were subjected, is truly heart-rending.*

* Las Casas, *Brevissima Relacion de la Destruycion de las Indias*, Venice Ed. 1643.—The women were made to work in the fields, the men in the mines. The whole race was in a fair way to become extinct; an immense number of Indians strangled themselves. I know a Spaniard whose cruelty has induced more than 200 Indians to commit suicide, p. 29. There was an officer of the King who received 300 Indians; at the end of three months he had only thirty left: 300 more were given him; he caused their death: he was furnished with a new supply; till at last he died, and the devil carried him off. — Had it not been for the Franciscans and a wise "*Audience*" that was established, they would have depopulated Mexico as well as Hispaniola, p. 142. In Peru, one Alonzo Sanchez falls in with a number of women carrying provisions, who do not run away, and offer him their burdens; he takes the provisions and massacres the women, p. 58. They used to dig trenches, fill them with stakes, and throw headlong into them all the Indians they could catch alive, old men, pregnant women, little children, till the trench was full, p. 61. They dragged Indians after them to compel them to fight

FERNANDO CORTEZ.—One hardly knows whether more to admire the boldness, or detest the ferocity of the conquerors of America. In four different expeditions they had discovered the coasts of Florida, of Yucatan, and of Mexico; when Fernando Cortez left the Island of Cuba, intent on new enterprises in the interior of the Continent [1519]. "This mere lieutenant of the Governor of a recently discovered Island, with only a force of less than 600 men, eighteen horses, and a few field pieces, sets out with the intention of subduing the most powerful State in America. He is fortunate enough at

against their own kinsmen, and made them eat the flesh of Indians, p. 83. When the Spaniards used to drag them away into the mountains, and they fell down, overcome with fatigue, their persecutors used to break their teeth with the hilts of their swords, and the Indians would cry out:—"Kill us here; let me stay here and die!" p. 72. A Spaniard out hunting, and wanting food for his hounds, meets a woman with a young child; he seizes the child, cuts it to pieces, and divides the flesh among his dogs, p. 116. I have myself seen the Spaniards cut off men's and women's hands, noses, and ears, from no motive but mere caprice; and that so often and in so many places, that it would take too long to enumerate the instances. I have seen them set hounds to chase the Indians, and tear them to pieces. I have seen them take children from their mothers' breasts, and toss them up in the air with all their might. A priest named Ocagua took an infant out of a fire, into which it had been thrown; a Spaniard came up at the moment, dragged the child from him, and threw it again into the fire. This man died suddenly the next day, and my opinion was that he ought not to have the rites of burial, p. 132. I protest, on my conscience and before God, that I have not exaggerated to the extent even of the ten-thousandth part what has happened and is still going on, p. 134. *Finished at Valencia, 1642, 8th December.*

starting to meet with a Spaniard, who, having been nine years a prisoner in Yucatan, on the way to Mexico, serves him as interpreter. Cortez advances along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, sometimes conciliating, at others fighting with the natives. He meets with towns bespeaking an advanced state of political organisation, and considerable appreciation of useful and ornamental arts. The powerful Republic of Tlascala, flourishing under an aristocratic government, opposes his advance; but the sight of horses, and the mere sound of cannon, put to flight these ill-armed multitudes. He makes peace on his own terms; six thousand of his new Tlascalan allies accompany him on his Mexican expedition. He enters that empire unopposed, in spite of the prohibition of the sovereign, and although this sovereign is said to be the liege lord of thirty vassals, each of whom could appear at the head of 100,000 men armed with arrows and with weapons of sharp stones, that among the Mexicans supply the place of iron.

"MEXICO.—The city of Mexico, rising out of the midst of a great lake, was the most splendid monument of American industry; immense causeways traversed the lake, whose surface was covered with canoes made out of the hollowed trunks of trees. In the city itself were seen spacious and commodious houses, built of stone, markets, shops resplendent with gold and silver ornaments, of chased and carved work, with glazed earthenware, and with cotton stuffs and featherwork, woven into patterns of the most dazzling hue. Adjacent to the

chief market was a court, where merchants could obtain summary justice. The splendour of the city was enhanced by several palaces, belonging to the Emperor Montezuma: one of them was surrounded by large gardens, entirely devoted to rearing medicinal herbs; these were gratuitously distributed to the people by proper officers, and a regular account was rendered to the King of the results of their application, the medical men keeping a register of this in their own peculiar way, although ignorant of the use of letters. Other descriptions of magnificence indicate the progress of the arts only; but this that of morality also. Had not human nature generally a good and a bad side, we should be at a loss to account for such an indication of moral progress as the above, in conjunction with the human sacrifices, the blood of which flowed in torrents before the idol of Huitxilopotchli, whom the Mexicans worshipped as the god of war. It is alleged that Montezuma's ambassadors told Cortez, that their master had sacrificed, in the course of his wars, nearly 20,000 enemies annually in the great temple at Mexico; this perhaps may be an exaggeration, intended to excuse in some measure the unjust conduct pursued by the conqueror of Montezuma; but at any rate when the Spaniards entered the temple, they found it decorated with human skulls, hung up as trophies. In other respects, the public administration was conducted with wisdom and humanity; the government paid special attention to the education of the young. There were public schools established both for boys and girls. We still wonder at

the ancient Egyptians having mastered the fact that the year consists of about 365 days; the Mexicans had advanced thus far in Astronomical Science. They had reduced war to an art; hence their supremacy over their neighbours. A regular financial system maintained the greatness of this Empire, which the surrounding nations regarded with mingled fear and envy.

"RECEPTION OF THE SPANIARDS AT MEXICO.—But the warlike animals, bestridden by the principal Spaniards, the artificial thunder that they wielded, the wooden castles that had transported them across the ocean, the mail in which they were completely sheathed, their marches marked by as many victories,—such a variety of subjects for admiration, combined with that consciousness of weakness that predisposes nations to that sentiment: all this caused Cortez, on his arrival in the capital of Mexico, to be received by Montezuma as his master, and by the inhabitants as their God. They went down on their knees in the street when a Spanish servant passed. It is related that a Cacique presented a Spanish captain, who was crossing over his land, with a number of slaves and a quantity of game: 'If you are God,' said he, 'here are men for you, eat them; if you are man, here are provisions that these slaves will dress for you.'

"MONTEZUMA. — Gradually Montezuma's Court, growing more at home with their guests, ventured to treat them like human beings. A number of Spaniards had been left at Vera Cruz on the way to Mexico; one of the Emperor's generals, acting on secret orders from him,

attacked them, and although his troops were defeated, yet three or four Spaniards were killed ; and the head of one of them was even carried up to Mexico to Montezuma. Cortez then performs the most daring act on record ; he repairs to the Palace followed by fifty Spaniards, conveys the Emperor prisoner to the Spanish quarters, extorts from him the surrender of those who have attacked his own men at Vera Cruz, and fetters the hands and feet of the emperor himself, like a general punishing a common soldier ; he then finally compels him publicly to acknowledge himself Charles V.'s vassal. Montezuma and the chief men in the Empire pay, as tribute incident to their homage, 600,000 marks of pure gold, together with an incredible quantity of jewels, gold plate, and the most choice specimens of the workmanship produced by the industry of several centuries. Cortez set aside a fifth of all this as his Imperial Master's portion, took another fifth as his own share, and divided the rest among his soldiers.

" One of the most extraordinary facts attending the conquest of the new world was, that it went on uninterrupted by the internecine strife waged among the conquerors themselves. Never was truth so remote from probability ; while Cortez was on the point of reducing the Empire of Mexico with the 500 men he still had left, the Governor of Cuba, Velasquez, more hurt at the glory of Cortez, his own lieutenant, than at the slender recognition, by the conqueror, of his superior authority, despatches almost all the troops at his command, consisting of 800 foot soldiers, eighty well mounted

horsemen, and two small pieces of artillery, to subdue Cortez, take him prisoner, and prosecute the career of victory that he had opened. Cortez, having on the one hand to encounter a thousand Spaniards, on the other to prevent a general rising of the natives on the continent, left eighty men to be responsible to him for the tranquillity of the whole of Mexico, and marched with the rest against his countrymen: he defeats some, the rest he gains over. Eventually this army, which had come to ruin him, enlists under his banner, and with it he returns to Mexico.

"The Emperor was, all this time, a prisoner in his own capital, guarded by eighty soldiers; their commander, on a rumour, whether true or false, that the Mexicans were conspiring for the deliverance of their sovereign, had selected the occasion of a festival, when 2,000 of the leading nobles were intoxicated by free indulgence in their strong liquors; he falls upon them with fifty soldiers, butchers them and their attendants without opposition, and strips them of all the gold ornaments and jewels, which they had put on for this festival. This atrocity, rightly ascribed by all the people to the instigation of avarice, aroused these too compliant men; and when Cortez arrived, he found 200,000 Americans in arms against eighty Spaniards, engaged in defending themselves, and keeping guard over the Emperor. They besieged Cortez to procure the liberation of their sovereign, and rushed in crowds against the cannon and muskets. The Spaniards were exhausted with the task of slaughter; and still the Americans succeeded each other in shoals without any

signs of flagging. Cortez was compelled to abandon the city, where he would have been starved out; but the Mexicans had broken down all the bridges, occurring at intervals along the causeways. The Spaniards replaced them with the bodies of their enemies; in their sanguinary retreat they lost all the treasures that they had seized for Charles V. and for themselves. After gaining the bloody battle of Otumba, Cortez undertook to besiege this immense city. He made his soldiers, and the Tlascalans who were with him, construct nine vessels, to enable him to re-enter Mexico by means of the very lake that seemed to debar his approach. The Mexicans did not hesitate to encounter him on the water; from four to five thousand canoes, each carrying two men, overspread the lake, and assailed Cortez' nine vessels, on board of which he had placed about three hundred men. These nine brigantines, which were provided with cannon, soon demolished the enemy's fleet Cortez, with the rest of his forces, fought on the causeways. Seven or eight Spaniards were taken prisoners and sacrificed in the great temple at Mexico. But at length, after several battles, the new emperor was captured by the Spaniards. This was no other than Guatemozin, so famous for the rebuke that he uttered, when, having been placed on a fire of live coals, in order to ascertain in what part of the lake he had concealed his treasures: his chief priest, condemned to the same punishment, cried out in his agony; Guatemozin exclaimed to him:—"And do you think *I* am on a bed of roses?"

CONQUEST OF MEXICO. 1521.—Cortez was now in complete possession of the city of Mexico [1521], and along with it the whole empire under the dominion of the Spaniards, Golden Castile, Darien, and all the adjacent countries. What was the reward of the unprecedented services of Cortez? Just that of Columbus; he was persecuted!' Notwithstanding the titles of honour bestowed on him in his native country, he was treated with little real consideration there, and had much difficulty even in procuring an audience of Charles V. One day he made his way through the crowd that surrounded the Emperor's carriage, and mounted on the door step. Charles inquired who this man was: "It is he," replied Cortez, "who has given you more states than your father left you towns."

PERU.—In the meantime the Spaniards were seeking out new countries to conquer and depopulate. Magelhan had doubled the southernmost point of South America, crossed the Pacific Ocean, and made the first voyage that had ever been accomplished round the world. But the greatest American State, next to Mexico, still remained to be discovered. One day while the Spaniards were weighing out some masses of gold, an Indian, upsetting the scales, told them, that at six days' march to the south they would find a country where gold was so plentiful as to be used for the commonest purposes. Two adventurers, Pizarro and Almagro, a foundling and a swineherd, who had turned soldier, undertook to discover and subdue the vast regions that the Spaniards have since named Peru.

"From the country of Cusco, and the vicinity of the Tropic of Capricorn as far North as the Island of Pearls, a single monarch extended his absolute sway over almost thirty degrees of territory; he belonged to a race of conquerors known by the name of Incas. The first of these Incas, who had conquered the country and given it a code of laws, was reputed to have been the offspring of the Sun. The Peruvians preserved the memory of important events by a system of knotted cords. They had obelisks, and regular instruments, to denote the equinoctial and solstitial points. Their year consisted of 365 days.

They had evinced, in their buildings and statues, remarkable proficiency both in architecture and in sculpture. They were the most highly civilised and industrious nation in the new world.

"The Inca Huasca, father of Atahuallpa the last Inca (during whose reign this great empire was overthrown) had greatly extended and adorned it with public works. This Inca, who conquered the whole territory of Quito, had employed his soldiers and the subject races in constructing a great high road, 500 leagues in length, from Cusco to Quito, filling up deep vallies, and levelling mountains in its course. Relays of men were stationed at every half league, to transmit the imperial commands with the greatest expedition throughout the empire. Such was the internal administration; and to convey an idea of the splendour kept up by these sovereigns, it may be sufficient to mention that they were carried, in their progresses, upon

a golden throne, that was found to weigh 25,000 ducats, and that the litter of golden plates on which the throne rested was supported by the principal men in the kingdom.

PIZARRO. 1532.—This Empire Pizarro assailed with 250 foot soldiers, sixty horse, and twelve small pieces of artillery. He arrived by way of the South Sea at the latitude of Quito on the other side the Equator. Atahuallpa was then on the throne [1532]; he was in the neighbourhood of Quito with about 40,000 soldiers armed with arrows, and gold and silver pointed pikes. Pizarro, like Cortez, began by tendering to the Inca the friendship of Charles V. When the Inca's army and the small body of Castilians met face to face, the Spaniards endeavoured to enlist on their side the semblance of religious sanction. A monk, named Valverde, accompanied by an interpreter, approaches the Inca with a Bible in his hand, and tells the Prince, "that he must believe whatever this book says." The Inca, putting his ear close to it, but hearing nothing, threw it on the ground, and the battle began.

"The artillery, the horses, and the steel weapons produced the same effect upon the Peruvians as they had done on the Mexicans; it was indeed a butchery rather than a battle; and Atahuallpa, dragged down from his golden throne by the victors, was loaded with irons. In order to regain his liberty the more readily, he engaged to give as much gold as one of the halls in his Palace could contain, piled up to the height of his hand, which he raised in the air above his head. Each

Spanish Knight had 240 marks in pure gold; each foot soldier 160. Almost ten times as much silver was distributed in the same proportions. The officers obtained immense wealth; and 30,000 marks of silver, 3,000 of gold, 20,000 marks' weight of silver, together with 2,000 of gold, in the workmanship of the country, were sent to the Emperor Charles V. Atahuallpa however was nevertheless put to death.

"Diego d' Almagro marches to Cusco, encountering and dispersing immense multitudes on his way; he penetrates as far as Chili. Everywhere the Spaniards take possession of the country in the name of Charles V. Shortly after, the conquerors of Peru fall out among themselves, as Velasquez and Hernando Cortez had already done in North America.

"CIVIL WARS.—Almagro and Pizarro's brothers engage in civil war even in Cusco itself, the Capital of the Incas: all the recruits they have received from Europe break up into hostile factions, and fight each under the leader of his choice. A bloody battle takes place under the walls of Cusco, without the Peruvians venturing to avail themselves of this fatal division among their common enemies. At length, Almagro was made prisoner, and his rival caused him to be beheaded; but was shortly after himself assassinated by the friends of Almagro.

"The Spanish Governmental System was already in course of formation throughout the new world; the great provinces had their Governors; tribunals called "Audiences" were established; Archbishops, Bishops, the Tribunals of the Inquisition, the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy

was already exercising its functions as at Madrid, when the Captains, who had conquered Peru for the Emperor Charles V., conceived the design of retaining it on their own account. One of Almagro's sons assumed the title of Governor of Peru; but other Spaniards, preferring the rule of a Master who lived in Europe to that of a companion who aspired to sovereignty, had him put to death by the hand of the executioner." (Voltaire.)

A new civil war was hushed up in the same manner. Charles V., at length yielding to the urgent petitions of Las Casas, had, by express enactment, exempted the Indians from personal slavery, and determined the tributes and services to which they were still to be subject [1542]. The Spanish colonists took up arms, and placed Gonzalo Pizarro at their head. But the royal name was so profoundly respected, that the mission of an old man, an Inquisitor (Pedro de la Gasca), sufficed to restore order. He rallied around him the majority of the Spaniards, gained over some, defeated others, and secured to Spain the possession of Peru [1546].

THE SPANISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA. GENERAL LIMITS OF THE SPANISH DOMINION IN AMERICA.—With the exception of Mexico and Peru, Spain really possessed only portions of the coast-line. The tribes in the interior could only be reduced to obedience as they were successively converted by the missionaries, and addicted, by the progress of civilisation, to fixed occupation of the soil.

VARIOUS DISCOVERIES AND SETTLEMENTS. 1540.—The expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro to

discover the country east of the Andes; Orellana circumnavigates South America, in a voyage of 2000 leagues. Settlements: 1527, The Province of Venezuela; 1535, Buenos Ayres; 1536, The Province of Granada; 1540, Santiago; 1550, Conception; 1555, Carthagena and Porto-Bello; 1567, Caracas.

ADMINISTRATION.—Civil Government:—In Spain, Council of the Indies, and India House of Seville; in America, two Viceroys, "Audiences," Municipalities, Corporations, Caciques, and "Protectors of the Indians." Ecclesiastical government (entirely dependent on the King): archbishops, bishops, rectors, or lay teachers, missionaries, monks. The Inquisition established in 1570 by Philip II.

Commercial administration; on the monopoly system. Chartered ports: in America, Vera Cruz, Carthagena, and Porto-Bello; in Europe Seville (at a later time Cadiz); a special fleet, and galleons. Agriculture and manufactures are neglected both in Spain and in America, for the working of the mines; slow growth of the colonies, and ruin of the Mother Country before 1600. But during the course of the 16th century, the enormous quantity of the precious metals that Spain must have derived from America contributes to render her the leading power in Europe.

CHAPTER X.

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII. AND EDWARD VI.—CHIEFLY IN CONNECTION WITH THE REFORMATION.

Early years of Henry VIII.'s reign.—Character and Administration of Cardinal Wolsey.—Origin of the Reformation.—The Divorce.—Fall of Wolsey, and Rise of Cranmer.—Submission of the Clergy.—Papal Supremacy abolished.—Execution of More and Fisher. The Pope excommunicates Henry.—Rise of Cromwell.—Dissolution of the Monasteries.—Pilgrimage of Grace.—Anne Boleyn beheaded.—Henry's tyranny.—Progress of the Reformation.—Act of the Six Articles.—The King's matrimonial relations.—Accession of Edward.—Power of Somerset.—Progress of Reform and Spoliation.—Popular risings.—Fall of the Protector.—Foreign Protestant influence in England.—Bishop Hooper.—Revision of the Prayer Book.—Compilation of the "Articles of Religion."—Ascendancy of Northumberland.—Edward VI. Charities and Death.

ADVANTAGEOUS POSITION OF HENRY VIII. AT HIS ACCESSION.—Henry VIII. ascended the throne under peculiarly favourable circumstances. His succession was undisputed, his kingdom at peace. To his father's fiscal rigour he was indebted, both for an ample supply of ready money, and for an increase of that popularity with which subjects usually greet a young and genial sovereign. A handsome person, good natural abilities, and considerable proficiency both in chivalrous exercises and in intellectual, especially theological, studies, combined to sustain the majesty of empire, and to excite the liveliest anticipations of a brilliant and prosperous administration.

SPLENDOUR OF HIS COURT.—Nor were the opening measures of his reign calculated to belie these expectations. The extortionate ministers who had so greatly exasperated the nation during the latter years of Henry VII. were punished with death, though on a different charge. His Court was the most splendid in Europe. He attracted thither, and liberally encouraged learned men. The royal theologian himself entered the lists of controversy against "the Heresiarch Luther," and was graced by the Pope with the title of "Defender of the Faith." He took a more active part than former English sovereigns in the general politics of the Continent. His wars, though not brilliant or extensive, were generally successful, both there and on his own side of the Channel. His pacific conference with Francis I. at "The Field of the Cloth of Gold" [1520], though a most useless was one of the most gorgeous pageants the world has ever seen, and still dazzles the lively imagination of posterity.

WOLSEY MINISTER.—Foremost among those who, during these years, directed the counsels of Henry, and basked in this sunset glow of mediæval splendour, while they heralded the dawn of a darker and sterner day, stands Cardinal Wolsey.

Of humble origin, but aspiring in temper, grand and munificent in his designs for the promotion of learning, prompt and not over-scrupulous in his measures for maintaining and extending the royal prerogative, combining the address of the courtier and diplomatist with the imperious arrogance of the lordly Churchman, Wolsey

early acquired and long retained almost complete ascendancy over the mind of the young King. To gratify the latter, he was made a Cardinal by Pope Leo X. in 1515; and he was encouraged both by Henry and by Charles V. to anticipate the Popedom itself. Besides the posts of Chancellor and Papal Legate, he also held the Archbishopric of York and the See of Tournay in France.

ARBITRARY TAXATION.—Whatever might be the merits of his administration in other respects (and it was not without conspicuous merits), Wolsey provoked universal unpopularity, indignation, hatred, by the unconstitutional and violent means to which he resorted for the purpose of replenishing the royal treasury, exhausted by the constant drain of a lavish expenditure. Both in Parliament, in Convocation, and among the wealthy but oppressed citizens of London, he excited considerable and sturdy opposition. The haughty Minister replied to the latter by the characteristic warning, "that it might fortune to cost some their heads." He issued an illegal Commission with a view to extorting further supplies; but the general clamour, that if such measures were enforced "it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond not free," backed by public seditions, compelled Henry and his Minister to retrace their steps.

APPROACH OF THE REFORMATION.—But the great movement that had so long been in preparation was now fast becoming inevitable; and the fall of Wolsey, indirectly connected with the immediate occasion of the first decisive step

towards the Reformation in England, portended and symbolised the overthrow of sacerdotal domination.

AGENCIES AT WORK IN PRODUCING IT IN ENGLAND.—These appear to have been mainly resolvable into three kinds:—

1. *Jealousy of Sacerdotal Ascendancy.*—For ages the nation had evinced the most decided antipathy to the vexatious, persevering, and all-embracing pretensions of the Holy See. For ages also they had clamoured and striven openly against the rapacious, subtle, and overbearing policy of the Clergy. The Papal would-be Autocrat without, the aspiring Order within, the Realm, had excited the most vivid feelings of jealousy and indignation; had been assailed, and more or less effectually controlled, by various legislative enactments; and had latterly become more than ever obnoxious, not only from the growth of a more critical and enlightened spirit among the Laity, but from their personal vices, from the Papal Schisms, the Clerical persecutions for heresy in England, and the unparalleled haughtiness and arbitrary exactions of Wolsey (who was at once Archbishop of York and Papal Legate).

But the Cardinal had hitherto wrought for the King, at least as energetically as for himself and his Order; and Henry was as yet in close alliance with the Pope. Should anything occur, however, to disturb these friendly relations, and induce the King (now wielding immense power, from his being no longer held in check by the feudal Barons, while the Commons had not yet learnt to assume the bold tone they held in

the next century) to favour the anti-clerical and anti-papal sentiment; the smouldering feud of centuries might be expected to culminate in a dire and decisive struggle.

2. *Higher standards of Intelligence and Piety at the Universities.*—The liberal and prescient* patronage of Wolsey, and the personal and literary influence of Erasmus, had encouraged, in the English Universities, the rise of a class of students who devoted themselves with increasing avidity and earnestness to Classical, Biblical, and Patristic investigations. The Bible and the Greek Fathers were now diligently explored, and, as Ridley mentions of his own case, largely committed to memory, in the original.

3. *Lutheran Tracts*, and other reformatory writings, finding their way into England from the Continent, were extensively circulated among a people prepared by the memory, if not by actual adherence to the tenets, of Wicliffe and the Lollards, to sympathise with them.

The first cause operated, in one way or another, upon the main bulk of the nation. The laity, as a body, had long felt and acted upon their jealousy alike of Pope and Clergy. But many of the Clerical Order, even of the Bishops, were by no means averse to the limitation, if even to the destruction, of the Papal authority, however indisposed to recede from their own exaggerated and unseasonable claims. The King quickly discerned that his war with the Papacy involved far severer measures against the Clergy, than any he had previously sanctioned.

* See, in Appendix I., Dean Milman's remark on the subject of Wolsey's foundations.

The second cause was more limited in the range of its immediate influence, affecting only the learned and highly educated. And though the results of their investigations were soon communicated to others; yet, as holding the key to theological studies, they determined, to a great extent, the nature of the religious changes. The third cause was most energetic among the lower classes of the kingdom, and, running out often into extravagant and dangerous excesses, excited the fears, and provoked the opposition, of the more moderate reformers themselves. Thus the way was prepared for the great struggle that ensued at a later period between the two chief sections of the reforming party.

PROXIMATE CAUSE OF THE REFORMATION.—Henry VIII.'s elder brother, Arthur, had been married, during their father's lifetime, to Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; but had shortly after died. By his father's influence a Papal Dispensation was obtained from Julius II. [1503], permitting the young prince Henry to marry his brother's widow, which he accordingly did; and, on his accession, the ceremony was repeated. But all his children by Catherine died, except one daughter, afterwards Queen Mary. This circumstance seems to have excited or strengthened in his mind, naturally prone to theological subtleties, scruples as to the validity of his marriage and of the Papal Dispensation, at variance as they both were with the letter of the Old Testament enactments; the slighted obligatoriness of which might seem to be asserted in the impending judicial extinction of his race.

The French Ambassador also raised a doubt as to Mary's legitimacy, on a treaty being negociated, in the course of which her marriage into the Royal family of France was proposed. Catherine was several years Henry's senior, and though of austere piety, had probably ceased to command his affections long before he even saw his second wife. Nor was she likely to bear more children; while a male heir to the throne was a great object of Henry's desire, especially with a view to more effectually obviating a disputed succession.*

THE KING APPLIES FOR A DIVORCE.—From the probable combination of these various motives, together with his passion for Anne Boleyn, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour, rather than from that passion exclusively, Henry applied to the Pontiff, alleging his scruples as to the validity of the previous Dispensation, and consequently of his marriage with Catherine, and requesting a private judgment, and should that be against their validity, an immediate divorce. [1527].

CLEMENT'S EVASIVE POLICY.—The Pope was placed in a most embarrassing situation. There was more to be said for Henry, on canonical grounds, than has been often allowed.† To decide too against so powerful and hitherto so staunch a supporter of the Holy See, would be perilous. On the other hand, a sentence in his favour would be resented by the Queen's uncle,

* "It does not appear manifest at what time his scruples began, nor whether they preceded his passion for Anne Boleyn. This, however, seems the more probable supposition."—HALLAM.

† This is Mr. Hallam's judgment.

the then especially mighty Emperor Charles V. And the spread of the Reformation was already endangering the principle of Papal Supremacy, while the tendency of a decision against the validity of the Dispensation would be to weaken that principle still further. Accordingly Clement VII. endeavoured to evade a decision. But Henry continued constant to his purpose. Upwards of five years were spent in tardy and delusive negotiations, promises, processes. At one time the Pope actually consented to the proposition that Henry should marry a second wife, whether intending or not, afterwards to annul or declare void the first marriage. But this compromise was not acted upon. Wolsey and another Papal Legate were at last empowered to decide the cause in England. But after more tedious delays and legal investigations, the suit was adjourned, and, in the interval of several months' suspension, remanded to Rome, where Henry was summoned to attend in person.

Fall of Wolsey.—This last step was too much for Henry. Imperious, hasty, as he was by nature, and inflamed by his affection for Anne Boleyn, he had exhibited no ordinary self-command and patience during the prolonged and palpably trimming and insincere proceedings of the Roman Court. His wrath now exploded upon the head of Wolsey, whom (whether justly or not) he regarded as concerned in the delay of judgment, and in the final insult put upon himself by this personal citation to the Bar of the Pope. The Cardinal was disgraced; impeached for violating the Statute of Provisors, by the exercise of his Legatine functions without special license from the

King; deprived of the great seal (which was given to Sir Thomas More); partially restored to favour, on signs of his failing health; arrested on a charge of high treason; and on his way to London died at Leicester [1530].

RISE OF CRANMER.—THE UNIVERSITIES CONSULTED ON THE DIVORCE.—Meanwhile Thomas Cranmer, a learned Cambridge divine, had suggested the competence of the English and foreign Universities to pronounce upon the Divorce; and had argued that a Papal Dispensation was invalid, when granted in clear violation of the Bible and the Fathers. The Universities were consulted, and many favourable opinions obtained. The charge of bribery abroad, and Royal influence at home, employed in obtaining these opinions, is met, on the part of those who admit it, by the counter charge of Imperial and Papal influence, and by alleging the strong party-feeling that disposed the lovers of the old regime to rally round Catherine and her cause. Cranmer undertook to plead the King's cause at Rome, and to submit to the Pope the opinions of the Universities. Gardiner and Bonner were also active on Henry's side.

SUBMISSION OF THE CLERGY.—Pending the Pope's decision, a heavy blow was now dealt at the Clergy. They were accused of having incurred the penalties of *præmunire*, by their acquiescence in the exercise of Wolsey's Legatine functions, and compelled to pay a heavy fine. The King also demanded that they should acknowledge him to be "Protector and Supreme Head of the Clergy and Church of England." To this much opposition was made, but it was conceded at length, with the import-

ant qualification "as far as the law of Christ will permit" [1531]. The Clergy were afterwards induced to consent that they would not exact or put in ure (execute) any new canons without the Royal license.

ANNATES ABOLISHED.—In the following year an Act of Parliament passed, abolishing the Annates or first-fruits of benefices, claimed by the Papal Court, and which had been a frequent cause of contention. But the statute was made provisional, until it should be ascertained whether the Pope himself would abandon or reduce them. It was made absolute a year after [1533].

CRANMER MADE ARCHBISHOP.—Cranmer was raised to the See of Canterbury on the death of Archbishop Warham [1532], and consecrated early in 1533. He soon after held a Court at Dunstable, and pronounced the King's marriage with Catherine null and void from the first. Henry had some months previously to this decision been privately married to Anne Boleyn. Cranmer now also delivered sentence in favour of this union.

APPEALS TO ROME ABOLISHED.—THE KING DECLARED BY PARLIAMENT HEAD OF THE CHURCH, 1533.—An Act was passed, confirming the title previously given to the King by Convocation, but without the limitation formerly inserted.

"This act materially determined the future conduct and complexion of the English Reformation. Ecclesiastics were constrained in future to acknowledge the ultimate jurisdiction of domestic Courts; they were to recognise no earthly sovereign, master, or superior, beyond the confines of the English monarchy; they

were disabled from meeting in their Convocations, or provincial synods, until the metropolitans who summoned them obtained a special license from the Crown" [1533].—*Hardwick.*

PAPAL SENTENCE ON THE DIVORCE.—Clement, at length, urged on apparently by the Cardinals of the Imperial party, delivered a definitive sentence, annulling that of Cranmer, pronouncing in favour of Catherine, and requiring the King to receive her back as his wife on pain of excommunication [March 1534]. Thus on both sides the die was cast, and further attempts at adjustment were abandoned.

THE MAID OF KENT.—Elizabeth Barton, generally known as the Maid of Kent, had long excited much attention as a religious enthusiast. The Papal party had availed themselves of her alleged visions and prophetic powers for the purpose of intimidating the King and his councillors from the bold course they were pursuing. Henry for some time made light of her predictions, that he was destined to a speedy and evil end. But she was at last tried and convicted; she confessed to having been tampered with by priests and others, and suffered death [1534].

PAPAL SUPREMACY ABOLISHED BY CONVOCATION.—The same year the King consulted both the Convocations (of Canterbury and York), as well as the Universities and some other Ecclesiastical bodies, on the question "Whether the Bishop of Rome has, in the word of God, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign Bishop?" and, with a few dissentient voices, a negative answer

was returned. Whereupon the old chronicler Hall remarks—"By the which the Pope, with all his College of Cardinals, with all their pardons and indulgences, was utterly abolished out of this realm. God be everlastingly praised therefor!"

Executions of More, Fisher, and the Carthusians.—Among the few dissentients to the above answer of Convocation was Fisher, the venerable Bishop of Rochester. He had also, to say the least, been injudiciously attentive to the Maid's utterances. He was now arraigned, together with the late Chancellor, the accomplished and excellent Sir Thomas More, and some of the chief members of the Carthusian House in London, on a charge of denying the Royal Supremacy; because they refused to take an oath on the succession to the throne, which indirectly involved an admission of that supremacy. They were all executed [1535]. Their constancy produced the warmest sympathy throughout the country; while the fate of such eminent and virtuous men as More and Fisher struck Europe with astonishment, and infuriated the Papal party beyond measure.

Henry VIII. Excommunicated.—On receiving the tidings of Fisher's death, the new Pope, Paul III. (whose rash offer of a Cardinal's hat to the imprisoned Bishop had apparently hastened if not provoked the catastrophe), cited the King to answer for his conduct; and in case he should not appear (as it was quite clear he would not do), pronounced him excommunicate; placed his kingdom under an interdict; absolved his subjects from their allegiance; offered his dominions to the first invader; and

ordered all the English Clergy to quit them. For the present, however, this Bull of excommunication was not published [1535].

POLE'S TREASONABLE PROPOSITION TO CHARLES V.—About this time, also, Cardinal Pole, a near relation of the King, and then abroad, wrote a book, in the course of which he called upon the Emperor Charles V. to suspend his projected expedition against the Turks, and to invade England.

BONNER AND GARDINER DEFEND THE LATE MEASURES.—While in another work, written by Gardiner, and assented to by Bonner, it was argued that the King's quarrel with the Papal Court turned not on his divorce, but on higher grounds, and that his late measures had been carried with the consent and approval of the most excellent and learned Bishops, of the Nobles, and of the whole people of England. With reference to the act declaring Henry Head of the Church, Gardiner maintained "that it introduced no new thing; but only determined that a power which, by divine right, belonged to their Prince, should be more clearly asserted; and the rather to remove the cloud from the eyes of the vulgar, with which the falsely pretended power of the Bishop of Rome had for some ages overshadowed them."

CROMWELL APPOINTED VICAR GENERAL.—Thomas Cromwell, who had formerly been in Wolsey's service, and had courageously defended his master when the latter was accused in Parliament, was appointed by the King Vicar General, or Vicegerent in Ecclesiatical matters [1535]. The idea of this office was probably suggested by the Pope's Vicars Apostolic.

The immediate object of Cromwell's appointment appears to have been the impending investigation into the state of the Religious Houses. But the step plainly exhibited the King's determination to turn his new or restored position to account, and to stretch his Prerogative to its extreme limits. Under an Act of Parliament, empowering him to reform or repress heresies, abuses, &c. he named Visitors (like the Missi of Charlemagne), during whose operations the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Bishops was held to be in abeyance. To some, if not to all of them, the King issued Commissions, restoring to each within his own diocese the exercise of this right, "one of the many illustrations of the temporary confusion produced in men's minds respecting the nature, source, and limits of spiritual and secular authority."*

THE SMALLER MONASTERIES DISSOLVED.—The excessive wealth and alleged dissolute lives of the Monastic and Conventual Orders had long been a standing topic of complaint and invective. Previous sovereigns had contemplated or initiated partial measures of reform or secularisation. Cardinal Wolsey, under the sanction of Papal as well as Royal licences, had dissolved as many as thirty religious foundations, and devoted their incomes chiefly to educational purposes. He had suggested also more extensive confiscations. The King had now an additional and powerful motive for proceeding against bodies, which strong in their corporate spirit as well as in any religious *prestige* that they still retained, and generally

* *Hardwick*, who also suggests the Carlovingian comparison.

devoted to the Papal interests, presented, as had been evinced already in the case of the London Carthusians, a formidable barrier to the recognition of the Royal Supremacy in matters Ecclesiastical. Accordingly, Cromwell was directed to hold a general visitation of these Establishments. The result was at once fatal to the smaller houses, against which many serious charges of gross immorality were confidently brought, if not substantiated. An Act of Parliament transferred such as had not an income of above £200 a year to the Crown. The report on the state of the larger houses was more favourable.

PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE.—Their fall, however, was accelerated by a series of risings, apparently occasioned mainly by Henry's hasty and wide-sweeping measures. None could say how far he might be disposed to carry his high-handed changes. A large proportion of the people seem to have been at this period still strongly attached to the greater part of the prevailing religious system. And whatever the moral delinquencies of the Monastics, they were the chief almoners of the lower orders throughout the country. A strong feeling of resentment had been provoked by the executions of Fisher, More, and the Carthusians. And the Papal party busily exerted their powerful and all pervading influence to fan the flame of discontent. A rebellion broke out in Lincolnshire, but was put down by the conciliatory policy of the Duke of Norfolk. Soon after, a more serious insurrection took place in Yorkshire. The rebels, headed by a gentleman named Robert Aske, marched with a crucifix

before them, and carried banners on which were displayed the five wounds of Christ, whence their expedition was called the "Pilgrimage of Grace" [1536]. They demanded the removal from around the King of low-born counsellors (alluding to Cromwell, the son of a blacksmith), the repression of heresy, and the restoration of Church property. They took Pontefract Castle, where the Archbishop of York, Lord Darcy, and others, were made prisoners, but consented to join their cause. Hull and York also fell before them, and they marched south to Doncaster. The Duke of Norfolk was sent against them, but found them too strong to be safely attacked. After much difficulty and negotiation, he dispersed them by the promise of a general pardon, and of a Parliament to be held the year following for the redress of their grievances. But soon after, they broke out again, and were easily put down, and their leaders executed [1537].

COUNTESS OF SALISBURY EXECUTED.—Among many others whose fate some consider to have been more or less caused by this outbreak, was the mother of Cardinal Pole, the aged Countess of Salisbury. But the main cause of Henry's relentless prosecution of her was probably her relationship to so distinguished and active a supporter of the Papal influence in England. She was beheaded [1541].

CONDEMNATION BY PARLIAMENTARY ATTAINDER.—A new and fearful engine of destruction seems to have been invented, though not put in execution, about this period—the plan of passing in Parliament a bill of attainder, without giving the accused the opportunity of being heard in his own defence. Cromwell

has the discredit of devising,—he was the first to experience the deadly effects of this cruel mode of prosecution.

ANNE BOLEYN BEHEADED.—But before this time Queen Catherine had died in peace ; leaving a pathetic letter to the King (which for the moment at least much affected him), and the short-lived triumph of her rival had closed in blood. The new Queen was suddenly accused, within six months after the death of her predecessor, of adultery, and even incest. She had been clearly guilty of great indiscretion in her conduct towards some of the gentlemen about the Court. How far the fouler charges were brought home to her is far more doubtful. "One of the strongest arguments in favour of her innocence consists in the nature of the court before which she was arraigned, and of the charges which were separately brought against her. She was first condemned for adultery, and then divorced on account of a precontract of marriage, which proved her never to have been the wife of the King."—*Bp. Short.*

She was tried in secret, condemned, and executed in the Tower [May 19th, 1536]. The King married his third wife, Jane Seymour, the following day!

NEW ACT OF SUCCESSION.—HENRY'S PARLIAMENTAY ABSOLUTISM.—The succession to the throne now again became the subject of legislation. Henry VIII. was, throughout his reign, one of the most absolute of the English Sovereigns ; but the peculiarity of his absolutism was that it enjoyed, to so unusual an extent, the plenary guarantee of Parliamentary sanction. His illegal measures of taxation, during

Wolsey's administration, have been already adverted to. But shortly after that Minister's fall, Parliament itself released the King from his debts [1530], and at a later period repeated the operation. The new act of succession empowered the sovereign, on failure of issue by his present marriage, to confer the Crown on whomsoever he pleased, either by letters patent, or by will [1536]. A later statute gave the force of law to the Royal Proclamations [1539].

BECKET'S REMAINS AND MEMORY DISHONOURED.—The King confiscated [1538] the treasures of Becket's shrine at Canterbury; ordered the bones of the saint to be burnt and scattered to the winds, and his name to be erased from the Calendar. A solemn trial was held, in which the dead Archbishop was pronounced a traitor. This step seems to have been a counterblast to the Papal fulminations. Paul III. was now openly encouraging the English to rebel; the Bull of excommunication was published; and the Kings of France and Scotland were urged to invade Henry VIII.'s dominions, and the Pope promised to confer the sovereignty of them on the successful invader. Henry, therefore, by this act significantly and publicly bade defiance to the Pope, and to the principle of Sacerdotal Domination, of which Becket had been the resolute defender and martyr.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—FIRST SERIES OF ARTICLES.—THE BISHOP'S BOOK.—However strongly bent upon annulling the Papal Supremacy, and curtailing the Sacerdotal influence in England, Henry VIII. had as yet shown little disposition to sanction dogmatic

changes. He lived and died, indeed, a determined supporter of mediæval theology in its main features; and dunished with death, at one and at the same time, the opponents of his Supremacy and the advocates of a doctrinal reformation. Yet several measures about this time received his sanction, which eventually and in principle, if not at once, greatly promoted such a reformation. A series of "Articles of Religion" and a didactic work called the "Institution of a Christian Man" were issued [1537], which, though retaining the form, and to a great extent the spirit of the Scholastic Theology, yet departed in some measure from the latter; and as condescending to justify on argumentative grounds the conclusions of authority, as being written in English, and as carrying out into a new sphere the previous announcement that the English Church did not owe, nor intend to pay, subservience to the decisions of Rome, gave an earnest of further and deeper changes.

CROMWELL'S INSTRUCTIONS.—ENGLISH VERSION OF THE BIBLE PUBLICLY AUTHORISED.—There seemed, indeed, some likelihood that these would be speedily effected. Cromwell, as Vicar-General, issued many useful injunctions to the Clergy, which, if seriously carried out, could not fail to promote the rapid spread of the movement. They were directed to discourage superstition among their flocks, and to impress upon them the lesson, that obedience to God's commandments and works of charity were more acceptable than pilgrimages and the worshipping of relics. They were in accordance with a petition previously presented by Convocation to the King) to set up Bibles in English in their

Churches, and to encourage the people to read them; and to provide for the moral and religious education of the children in their parish. Many other suggestions, calculated to awaken a spirit of earnestness and inquiry, were added [1538].

Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries. —The fall of the larger religious houses, far from being averted, was hastened by the northern rebellion. The Commissioners resorted to many most questionable methods of eliciting evidence against them. Several Abbots were attainted for assisting the insurgents, and their Abbeys declared forfeited to the King. Other houses were surrendered. The remainder were dissolved by Act of Parliament, and their revenues nominally transferred to the crown; but the courtiers and nobles, whose concurrence Henry sought to conciliate, shared most largely in the spoil. Latimer, and other less selfish and more genuine reformers, pleaded strongly, but for the most part vainly, against these sweeping measures. They wished some, at least, of the institutions to be spared, and devoted to religious and educational purposes. Six new Bishoprics were indeed endowed out of the funds, and fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into Cathedral and Collegiate Churches; but "the great spoiler was a small restorer." Many religious frauds were, in the course of these proceedings, detected and exposed. Very inadequate provision seems to have been made for the inmates of these religious houses, now turned loose upon a world in which they were, in too many cases, little fitted to secure a position by their own exertions [1537-9].

An important constitutional change was effected by the absence, henceforth, of nearly thirty mitred Abbots from the House of Lords.

THE DISSOLUTION ULTIMATELY BENEFICIAL.—"On the whole, the country has doubtless been a gainer by the dissolution of the monasteries. So much land, in the hands of such corporations, was calculated to cripple the energies and suppress the enterprise of the people. Nor did it seem likely that these societies could be so reformed as to efface the memory of the superstitions they had cherished, and to promote the interests of true religion. We may be humbled when we think how many bad passions were at work in their suppression; and the injustice that was done to many erring but conscientious men, whose worst crime was a stubborn adherence to the principles under which they had been brought up. But let us not be ungrateful for all the good which Providence has raised out of the dust of these ruined piles."—*Massingberd.*

THE KING INCLINED TO REACTION.—Henry VIII., since his rupture with the Pope, had for the most part countenanced the party and the general policy, if not the special opinions, of the doctrinal reformers, who were gradually seeing their way to more extensive modifications of the religious system. But the opposition of the more temperate and upright among them to his schemes of wholesale Church spoliation provoked his resentment, and induced the capricious and jealous monarch to lend more heed to the counsels of Gardiner; who, although he had supported the divorce, the abolition of Pa-

pal Supremacy, and the Dissolution of the Religious Houses, was entirely averse from dogmatic innovations.

ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.—His influence at Court probably occasioned an attempt to turn the Reformation (as it were) against itself, by enlisting the Royal Supremacy in the defence of Mediævalism. In spite of Cranmer's determined and bold opposition to the Bill, it became law, and was commonly known as the "Act of the Six Articles," or the "Bloody Statute." It denounced capital penalties against those who should call in question any of the following tenets:—(1) Transubstantiation. (2) The sufficiency of Communion in one kind, as then administered to the laity. (3) The sinfulness of Priests marrying. (4) The absolute obligation of vows of chastity. (5) The efficacy of Private Masses. (6) The necessity of compulsory Auricular Confession [1539].

Innumerable arrests and frequent executions took place under this cruel Act, though Cranmer's influence appears to have in some degree mitigated the severity of its operation.

CRANMER IN DANGER.—He himself was twice placed in considerable danger, by plots, the former aimed indirectly at him through his friends, the latter concerted against him by a considerable party in the Council, of which he was himself a member. The King, however, very characteristically saved him on both occasions, and, in the second instance, severely rebuked his antagonists, after they had been led to imagine their triumph over the Archbishop secure. The Primate exhibited a spirit of for-

giveness rarely parallelled in that bloody age, on discovering that the first plot had been concocted by men, who had been formerly indebted to him for their elevation, and now received their life at his hands.

Shaxton and Latimer, on the passing of the "Bloody Statute," resigned their Bishoprics, and were imprisoned as "Sacramentarian Heretics" [1539].

READING OF THE BIBLE RESTRICTED.—By another law of Gardiner, the lower classes were forbidden the free possession of the Bible. The King did not retract the permission he had given that it should be published in English, and set up in Churches; but artisans and apprentices were not to keep copies of their own [1546].

ANOMALOUS STATE OF THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION.—"Thus were the two parties balanced; the translated Bible giving an increased advantage to the reformers, while the persecuting statutes presented a strong barrier of defence to some of the most corrupt doctrines and Practices of the Papal times. The King alternately favoured both; but with constant fear and distrust of the spirit of liberty which the change of his own making had raised up."—*Massingberd*

FALL AND EXECUTION OF CROMWELL.—The sudden and fatal reverse of fortune that had overtaken in turn Wolsey, and his antagonist Anne Boleyn, was now to be repeated in the case of his friend and former dependant. Cromwell had, like the great Cardinal, served the King well—perhaps too well. But besides Henry's present bias against the religious

principles favoured by his Vicar General, the latter had incurred his deep displeasure by having advocated a new royal marriage, which was quickly dissolved, from the King's antipathy to his German bride, Anne of Cleves. The minister was accused by the Duke of Norfolk, at the Council Board, of treason; committed to the Tower; attainted by Parliament in the manner he had himself suggested, and beheaded [July 1540].

THE KING AND HIS WIVES.—EXECUTION OF QUEEN CATHERINE HOWARD.—Henry VIII., a recent writer has remarked, "was certainly unfortunate in his relations with women." They were at least equally unfortunate in their relations with him. Catherine of Arragon had been divorced after an infinity of suffering, and had died broken-hearted. Her rival was beheaded. A third wife, Jane Seymour, was happily released by an early death from the possibility of experiencing or meriting her royal consort's alienation [1537]. Her successor was mentally repudiated from the very first moment the King beheld her, and soon assumed the safer, if less exalted position of a "sister" [1540]. The same year Henry married a niece of the Duke of Norfolk, Catherine Howard; and within a year and a half she was executed on an admitted charge of impurity [1542]; and the royal widower still had the courage to make another experiment in matrimony. His sixth wife, Catherine Parr, survived him, though, as some authorities say, not without a narrow escape. Others consider that Henry only threatened for the purpose of intimidating

her, and rendering her less oppugnant to his theological peculiarities.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.—ENGLISH LITANY PUBLISHED.—Meanwhile various steps had been sanctioned, that prepared the way for the fuller and freer establishment of the Reformation in the next reign. Several favourers of the "New Learning," as the doctrinal reform now began to be called, were promoted to the episcopate. The ignorance and inefficiency of preachers was to some extent obviated by a set of homilies now published. Many good directions were given to the Clergy by the Bishop of London and others. Above all, a Litany, or form of Prayer for public worship, was issued *in the English language* [1544].

THE KING'S ADDRESS ON RELIGION.—It has been well remarked of Henry VIII.—"His character is a perfect puzzle. Not that we can have any hesitation in saying he was a disgrace to the great cause his passions led him to advocate; but that he was not himself aware of his own real character. That is the wonder. Other tyrants felt something like remorse at their deeds of blood; but never did Henry VIII. seem to have the least misgiving that he was not the best King, the most faithful Catholic and Defender of the Faith, that ever lived." —*Abrahams.* A singular instance of this is afforded by a speech which he made [1545] on the religious condition of the country. It is most sensible and moderate in its tone; advises the people to lay aside the virulence that had been exhibited on religious subjects; urges them to live peaceably, to acquire and promote

useful instruction and mutual charity, and to love and serve God. Yet he still persisted in persecuting and putting his subjects to death, for conscientious differences with himself on religious questions!

NORFOLK AND SURREY IMPRISONED.—EXECUTION OF THE LATTER 1547.—The gallant and accomplished Earl of Surrey was accused of aspiring to the throne; this intention being assumed from his having quartered on his shield the arms of Edward the Confessor. Both he and his father, the Duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower, and condemned to die. Surrey was executed, but the King himself expired January 28 1547, before the sentence on Norfolk was carried into effect; and the Duke was subsequently released on the accession of Queen Mary.

ACCESSION AND CHARACTER OF EDWARD VI. 1547.—Edward VI., the son of Henry VIII. by his third wife, Jane Seymour, was only nine years old on the death of his father. Though himself cut off before he reached manhood, he gave remarkable promise of ability and excellence. He seems to have been inclined, by conviction, to the Reformed Faith,—indeed to a rather ultraphase of it; but the measures adopted for its establishment, as well as the general conduct of the government, must have been mainly due throughout to his ministers and advisers.

PRE-EMINENCE OF SOMERSET IN THE COUNCIL.—The late King had entrusted the management of affairs, during his son's minority, to the sixteen Executors of his Will. But the rest were induced to acquiesce in the ascend-

ancy of the King's maternal uncle, who was created Duke of Somerset, and at the head of the council virtually swayed, for some time, the whole royal authority!

PROGRESS OF REFORM AND OF CHURCH SPOLIATION.—"The Reformation now proceeded without impediment, but plunder and havoc kept pace with it; for, by one of those unnatural leagues in which men, with the purest intentions, sometimes find themselves involved, the most religious members of the Church, and the veriest worldlings of the State, went hand in hand; the former acquiescing in the evil which they could not prevent, for the sake of bringing about the good at which they aimed; the latter promoting that good, because they made it subservient to their own selfish and rapacious ends. The religious and the statistic measures must not be confounded. Reformation was the aim and effect of the former; spoliation of the latter."—*Southey.*

STATE OF CHURCH PARTIES.—Without taking into account the statesmen who followed, to so great an extent, their own selfish interests, rather than any religious convictions, the really sincere theological parties were mainly three: (1) The Mediævalists, headed by Gardiner, who sought to avoid further changes, if not to retrace their steps. (2) The more Conservative Reformers, whose sympathies were, on the whole, mainly with the Lutheran system. (3) The more violent or Democratic Reformers (the forerunners of the later Puritans), who were now generally denominated "Sacramentaries," and leant mostly to the Swiss theology.

On the skirts of this last party hung various classes of fanatics, Anabaptists and others, who were not always distinguished, or easily distinguishable, from the more zealous and extreme "Sacramentaries." The strong English dislike to unnecessary and radical changes, combined with the excesses perpetrated abroad, or advocated at home, and the constant and profound study of, and appeal to, Antiquity, gradually imparted to the English Reformation a more decidedly conservative tone than had been assumed by the movement elsewhere.

EDWARD VI.'S FIRST PRAYER-BOOK.—Thus, among other measures indicative of this spirit, a Liturgy, adapted to the various occasions of public worship, was compiled by a Committee of Divines, chiefly from ancient sources, though translated into English; was submitted for approval to Convocation and to Parliament, and ultimately used in almost every parish throughout the King's dominions—"England, Wales, Calais, and the Marches of the same." [Whitsunday, June 9th, 1549.]

PRACTICAL REFORMS DIRECTED BY THE COUNCIL.—Under the new Service Book confession to a priest was optional. An Act had already been passed, requiring the Communion to be administered to the laity in both kinds, and forbidding "private masses" [1547].

The same authority permitted the Clergy to marry [1548].

The Royal Council, acting on the Statute which had given legal effect to the Proclamations of Henry VIII., and had continued the same prerogative to the advisers of his son, now

issued many directions, calculated to promote the general efficiency of religious institutions and ordinances. The removal of images, which had been abused to superstitious purposes; more regular, intelligent, and earnest preaching; greater strictness in the observance of Sundays, and other holy days; as well as in the admission of candidates for ordination, and of clergy to benefices, were severally provided for. To facilitate the better comprehension of the Scriptures, a copy of the Paraphrase of Erasmus was ordered to be placed in every church for public use.

PERSECUTION OF BONNER AND GARDINER.—These and other measures provoked opposition from some of the adherents of the "Old Learning," whose general ground was, that no further changes ought to be introduced until the King attained his majority. Gardiner and Bonner particularly distinguished themselves in this way, and were imprisoned by the Council [1548], and eventually deprived of their Sees [1550]. There can be little doubt that these personal severities sharpened their own zeal for persecution during the next reign, and tended to aggravate the sufferings of the reformers.

REPEAL OF THE SIX ARTICLES, AND OTHER ACTS OF HENRY VIII.—Parliament, in 1547, cancelled most of the severe Acts passed towards the close of the last reign, including those concerning treason and "Lollardies," and the "Bloody Statute." The Act conferring such arbitrary power upon the Council, and on which many of their recent measures had been based, was also now repealed [1547].

SECULARISATION OF THE CHANTRY LANDS.—Parliament had transferred to the Crown all "Chantries, Free Chapels, and Colleges." The first of these terms denoted certain endowed establishments of priests, whose duty it was to perform mass for their founders. Under the last term, it was at first feared the Universities might be brought. But they were expressly exempted from the operation of the Act, the effect of which, however, was to throw the estates of the Chantries mostly into the hands of the rapacious courtiers. Cranmer strongly, but in vain, opposed the measure, and sought to save for better uses the Chantry lands, as Latimer had before endeavoured to rescue those of the Monasteries. But the court influence triumphed.

PLUNDER OF CHURCH ORNAMENTS.—The substitution of a table for an altar, in churches, gave fresh occasion for pillage. "Private men's halls were now hung with altar-cloths; their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlets. It was a sorry house which had not somewhat of this furniture." Chalices were used by the more profane as drinking-vessels, and horses were watered in the stone and marble coffins of the dead. Churches were stripped of their lead; church bells exported in great quantities, to be melted down into cannon.

DANGEROUS STATE OF THE COUNTRY.—These excesses alienated many who had been inclined to look favorably on the Reformation; exasperated its opponents; gave great and just offence to the more respectable and sincere reformers themselves. The Primate procured a letter

from the Council to stop them; but this was of little avail, as many members of that body itself set the example of spoliation—among them the Protector Somerset. Moreover, dangerous and licentious tenets were spreading among a considerable part of the population, who, suddenly freed from sacerdotal domination, had not yet reaped the advantages of a more spiritual if a more independent religious training, or learned to use their liberty with moderation. The abrupt transfer of so much property had also produced much hardship among the lower orders. The new possessors of land often rack-rented, if they did not actually expel their tenants and (wool being then a more profitable article of traffic than corn) convert the arable land into pasturage. The laborers naturally connected these proceedings with the changes in religion.

INSURRECTIONS.—From the operation of these several causes, risings among the population were very frequent. Many of them were easily suppressed, but in the West and in Norfolk they became formidable. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall besieged Exeter, which was with difficulty relieved by Lord Russell, who completely dispersed their forces, and put an end to the rebellion by the execution of the ringleaders. While they were in the ascendant, they had endeavored to extort from the fears of the King and his councillors measures that would have amounted to a counter-reformation. Cranmer wrote a careful reply to their demands. The Norfolk rebels were also dispersed, after some bloodshed, by the Earl of Warwick.

The Protector, who had from the first favored the cause of the Commons, and thus incurred considerable odium among the nobility, proclaimed a general pardon (with certain exceptions), though contrary to the wishes of many members of the Council [1549].

Fall and Execution of Sir Thomas Seymour, and of the Protector.—Sir Thomas Seymour, Somerset's brother, had been appointed High Admiral, and had married Queen Catherine Parr, the Widow of Henry VIII. She died soon after; and the Admiral is said to have then paid his addresses to the Princess Elizabeth. These and other circumstances gave rise to a charge that he was aiming at the royal authority. His brother returned from the north to direct his trial. He was attainted of high treason, condemned, and executed, without having been heard in his own defence [1549]. The Protector and Cranmer, the former as the brother of the Admiral, the latter as a Clergyman, were much blamed for signing the death warrant.

Within a few months after the death of his brother, Somerset himself was stripped of his authority, and imprisoned, by a confederacy at the head of which was the Earl of Warwick [October 1549]. The latter then caused himself to be appointed Lord High Admiral. In February following Somerset was released, on payment of a fine. But in 1551 he was again committed to the Tower, tried for high treason and felony, and condemned on the second charge, though acquitted on the first. He suffered on the scaffold [1552]. He asked, on his trial, the

favour that had been refused to his brother, of being confronted with the witnesses.

SPREAD OF ANABAPTISM.—JOAN BOCHER BURNT.—Great complaints were made to the Council of the prevalence of Anabaptists and others who propagated pernicious, and in many cases anti-social opinions. A Commission was appointed to check this symptom; many were punished with less severity, but two were sentenced to the flames, and actually burnt; thus again sanctioning, in however few instances, the principle of persecution. Joan Bocher suffered [May 1550] for heretical opinions on the subject of the Incarnation; George Van Parre, or Paris, as an Anabaptist [April 1550]. Cranmer with difficulty persuaded the King to sign the warrant for the execution of Bocher.

INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND OF FOREIGN PROTESTANT REFUGEES.—Cranmer seems to have entertained the hope of bringing all the Protestant Churches to a community of faith, by forming a Council in England, to which deputies should be sent from the rest; and who might publish such articles of belief as were received by all. Thus he liberally encouraged the settlement in England of Protestant refugees, whom the *Interim* and other causes had driven from the Continent. Three of the most eminent of these were Laski, a Pole, who was allowed to officiate as superintendent of a congregation of foreign reformers in London [1550]; Bucer, who was appointed to the Theological Chair at Cambridge [1549]; and Peter Martyr, who held the same position at Oxford [1549]. But the result did not fulfil the Primate's anticipation.

Instead of promoting union with the Churches abroad, it tended much more to bring division into the councils of the English Reformers.

At the same time, "the fiery sermons of John Knox, and the obtrusive letters of Calvin, represented in the strongest colors that the Service-Book, as it then stood, was so deeply penetrated by the charge of Popery, that the genuine worship of God was not only darkened, but well nigh destroyed; while congregations of foreign Protestants, exhibiting a nuder and more simple ritual, must have generated a desire in sympathetic minds for corresponding usages."—*Hardwick.*

Bishop Hooper.—A singular instance of this frame of mind was afforded by the "vestment controversy," as it has been called, originating in the appointment of John Hooper, a zealous reformer, to the See of Gloucester. He had gone abroad on the passing of the Act of the Six Articles, and had imbibed at Zürich the views of the Swiss Reformers. The dress of a Bishop was at that period of scarlet silk; and this color Hooper regarded with abomination, as essentially characteristic of Popery, and associated with all its abuses. He refused to be consecrated in such attire. "It marks, almost ludicrously (says Mr. Hallam), the spirit of those times, that, instead of permitting him to decline the station, the council sent him to prison for some time, until by some mutual concessions the business was adjusted. These events it would hardly be worth while to notice if they had not been the prologue to a long and serious drama." [1550].

REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.—The agitation in favor of a more sweeping reformation led to the revision of Edward VI.'s Prayer Book, and the publication of an edition in some respects differing from the former. But the principle of following antiquity in the interpretation of scripture, which was still acted on, limited the range of emendation, and precluded the extreme changes advocated by the Ultra Reformers. A recent writer is justified in his assertion that "after, as before the revision, the Book was still, in all its leading features, and in the great bulk of its materials, an accumulation of *ancient* wisdom, a bequest of *ancient* piety."

ARTICLES OF RELIGION COMPILED.—Although the Prayer Book declared, to a great extent, the belief of the Reformed English Church, yet the want of a more concise and definite Formulary, especially for didactic rather than devotional purposes, led to the compilation of a General Confession of Faith, under Forty-two Articles, which, though slightly modified, and reduced to thirty-nine at a later period, have been in substance since retained. They were drawn up by a Royal Commission (Cranmer and Ridley apparently taking the chief part in their composition); sanctioned by Convocation in 1552; and published with the Royal license early in 1553.

NORTHUMBERLAND ALTERS THE ROYAL SUCCESSION. 1553.—Warwick, after the fall of Somerset, had been created Duke of Northumberland, and had the reins of government completely in his hands. Not satisfied with the

office of Protector, he aimed at altering the succession, and placing the crown on the head of his son, who had married Lady Jane Grey. Edward, in declining health, and fearful of the restoration of the Roman Catholic system, should his sister Mary succeed him on the throne, was induced to consent to this disposition,—fatal, as it proved, to all the parties whose aggrandisement it aimed at.

EDWARD VI.'S CHARITABLE ENDOWMENTS.—Edward VI. in many ways made noble amends for his father's and his councillors' spoliation of Church property; and his example was followed by many munificent subjects; who about this time, or a little later, founded Grammar Schools and other useful institutions. Thus Ridley, in preaching before the King, had dwelt much upon the pitiable condition of the poor, and the duty of those who were in authority to provide effectual means for their relief. Edward, after the service, sent for the Preacher, and, declaring that he was "before all things most willing to travail that way," asked his advice as to the best means of discharging the obligation. Ridley suggested that he should consult the Lord Mayor. And this ended in the young King's endowing Christ's Hospital, for the education of poor children, of St. Thomas' and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, for the relief of the sick, and Bridewell, for the reformation of criminals. He soon after died. [July 1553.]

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

ON THE STATE OF THE LATER MEDIÆVAL CHURCH.

[Condensed from Dean Milman.*]

THE great division of the population into the Clergy (including the monks and friars) and the Laity was still rigorously maintained. They were distinct, and even opposed, in their theory of life, in their laws, corporate property, rights, immunities.

POWER OF THE CLERGY.—Many causes contributed to exalt and confirm the power, not to say the preponderance, of the clerical order: in particular (1) their intellectual superiority; (2) their numbers; (3) their wealth; (4) their unity, and (5) their ubiquity, both more or less due to (6) their exclusive possession of a common language; (7) their spiritual authority.

INTELLECTUAL SUPERIORITY OF THE CLERGY.—This was, on the whole, an admitted and palpable fact for centuries, in spite of the positive ignorance of great numbers among the clerical order, especially the lower friars.

It resulted—

(1). From the selection into the order of men in whom the intellectual capacity predominated over the physical force. In general the commission to teach the religion implied some superiority of mind.

(2). From the *sifting* out of the order generally the fittest and most able members to fill the higher and more responsible offices. The dull and negligent sunk into the lower ranks, or, if belonging by their aristocratic descent

* Latin Christianity, volume vi.—*Survey*, pp. 357-634.

to the higher, they obtained place, influence, and wealth only by their connections, and by unclerical powers of body and of mind.

(3). From education being almost entirely in the hands of the Clergy. Each stage, almost every branch of it, was theirs. The Universities, the Schools were theirs alone. Whoever had great capacities or strong thirst for knowledge could neither obtain nor employ it but in the peaceful retirement, under the sacred character, with the special advantages of the churchman, or in the cloister.

The Clergy were the canon lawyers, and, for some centuries, as far as it was known or in use, the teachers and professors of the civil law. They were the historians, the poets, the philosophers. It was the first omen of their endangered supremacy, that the civil lawyers of France rose against them in bold rivalry. Physical and medical science only (though, in the case of the former, with some famous exceptions) they declined.

NUMBERS OF THE CLERGY.—The Clergy were divided primarily into Secular, comprising the great body of the parochial members of the order, and Regular, including the Monastic bodies, together with the Monks and Friars. The number of the Secular Clergy was to a certain extent limited by the spiritual wants of the community, and the means of maintenance. But it comprehended within the sacred circle of immunity and privilege a vast host of unenrolled and subordinate retainers, subdeacons, acolyths, singers, down to those who held more menial offices—sacristans, beadles, servants of all classes. There was absolutely nothing to limit the number of Monks, still less that of the Friars, especially the Dominicans and Franciscans. No one was too poor or too low to become a privileged and sacred mendicant. No qualification was necessary but piety or its semblance, and that might too easily be imitated. While these orders in the Universities boasted of the most erudite and subtle of the Schoolmen, they could not altogether reject those who in the spirit, at least of St. Francis, maintained the superiority of holy ignorance. Instead of being amazed that the Friars swarmed in such hordes over Christendom, it is rather wonderful that the whole abject and wretched peasantry did not all turn able-bodied reli-

gious beggars, as the strong English sense of Wycliffe terms the great mass of the lower Franciscans in England.

WEALTH OF THE CLERGY.—1. *Land.* The property, especially territorial and landed, of the hierarchy and the monastic orders, it is impossible to estimate with any approach to exactness. It varied, of course, in every kingdom in Christendom. Nor if we knew the proportionate extent of church lands to that not under mortmain, would it be any measure, or any sure criterion, of their relative value. This property, though theoretically inalienable, was in a constant state of fluctuation. The unmarried, yet dissolute and extravagant beneficiaries resorted to various devices for conveying away the value of church lands to their kinsmen, or for their own benefit. In England it would appear, from calculations based upon the estimates made in the reign of Henry VIII., that the revenue of the ecclesiastical domain amounted to about one-tenth of the entire income of the landed property of the kingdom. But this estimate is very fallacious, both as to the extent, and the actual value of church property. The estates were far more extensive than this calculation would imply, and, on the other hand, though as probably having been the longest under cultivation, the best cultivated, yet in productive value they were far below their imagined wealth. For the Church was, by usage, perhaps from interest, an indulgent landlord. Many of the estates had become copyhold, and paid only a moderate quit-rent, and a small fixed fine on renewal.

2. *Tithe.* Besides estates held in absolute property, was the tithe of all other lands. Tithe was first received by the Bishop, and distributed by him in three or in four portions: to himself, to the clergy, for the fabric of the churches, for the poor. But all kinds of irregularities crept into the simple and stately uniformity of this universal tax and its administration.

The Bishops or wealthy clergy, lay impropriators, abbeys or monasteries, from time to time possessed themselves of it, and provided in the cheapest manner for the performance of the parish services. In England the tithe was largely received by foreign beneficiaries, who never saw the land from which they received this tribute. Still, however levied, however expended, however invaded by what some held to be sacrilegious hands, much the

larger part of this tenth of all the produce of the land throughout Christendom, with no deduction, except the moderate expense of collection, remained in the hands of the hierarchy. It was gradually extended from the produce of land to all other produce—cattle, poultry, even fish.

The estates alone of the high aristocracy of the church, which were lordships, baronages, princedoms, in the Pope a kingdom, placed them on a level with or superior to, the knights, barons, princes, kings of the world.

In England the statute of mortmain had been the national protest against the perpetual encroachment of the church on the landed property of the realm. At length the subtlety of the lawyers baffled the subtlety of the churchmen; the strong, stern law, could be neither infringed nor eluded.

3. *Oblations.* A more fruitful source of clerical wealth, probably, than lands and tithes combined, were the offerings, at first voluntary, subsequently exacted by the clergy, as a right on innumerable occasions—(*a*) For *appeals to the Pope.* The vast treasures accumulated by the Avignonese Pontiffs when the Papal territories were occupied by enemies or adventurers, and could have yielded but scanty revenues, testify to the voluntary or compulsory tribute paid by Western Christendom to her supreme court of appeal. (*b*) *On visiting churches and shrines of Saints, &c.* Not only might not the altars, hardly any part of the church might be approached without a votive gift. Processions were constantly led by the clergy for devotional purposes to the crosses of the Redeemer, or the shrines of popular saints, and those who accompanied them were expected to contribute according to their means. (*c*) For *religious offices.* The whole life, the death of every Christian, was bound up with the ceremonial of the Church; for almost every office was received, from the rich and generous the ampler donation, from the poorer or more parsimonious was exacted the hard-wrung fee. Above all, there were the masses to lighten the sufferings of the souls in purgatory; the gifts of the dying on his own, of the bereaved on another's behalf.

4. *Alms.* To the mendicants in their four orders—Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites. In every country of Latin Christendom, of these swarms of

friars, the lowest obtained sustenance; the higher, means to build and to maintain splendid churches, cloisters, houses. Here, too, what was once an act of charity had become an obligation. Who would dare to repel a holy mendicant? The friars were a standing army, far more vast than any maintained by any Christian kingdom, at once levying subsidies to an enormous amount, and living at free quarters throughout the land.

Unity of the Clergy.—On the whole, the Clergy, including the Monks and Friars, were one throughout Latin Christendom. Whatever feuds there might be between rival Prelates, Priests, Orders—whatever jealousy between Seculars and Regulars, the Caste seldom betrayed the interests of the Caste. The high-minded churchman, who regarded his country more than the church, was not common; the renegade, who pursued his private interests by sacrificing those of his order, might be more so; but he stood alone, a hated and despised apostate. The Clergy in general (there were noble exceptions) were first the subjects of the Pope, then the subjects of the temporal sovereign. The Papal influence over, and thereby the unity of the Clergy, was greatly promoted by (1) *The Mission of Legates* into each kingdom. The Papal Legate, the Proconsul of the Pope, could almost command, rarely did not receive, the unlimited homage of the Clergy. (2) By the *Papal claim to the exclusive right of taxing ecclesiastical property.* This right was first claimed during the Crusades, for that purpose; it was continued for all other Crusades which the Pope might command, and was extended to his general uses; thus constituting the Holy See, in some measure, the Suzerain of Church property throughout the World. (3) By the *Pope's awful powers*, which held in check the natural tendency to rebellion and contumacy on the part of the Clergy. (4) *By the want of an arbitrator* in their disputes, *and a protector* against secular encroachment.

Ubiquity of the Clergy.—In some respects the Churchman was of all countries. His knowledge of the universal Latin—the ability (in theory possessed by all) to officiate in the unchangeable service of the Church—was the only indispensable qualification for any dignity or benifice throughout Christendom. Popes were of al-

most every European nation. England saw its richest benefices held by strangers, ignorant of the native language, but who occasionally visited their remote cures, and had no difficulty in going through the routine of religious service. There might be bitter complaints—at length legislative enactments on the part of the state; but there was no canonical disqualification in such a case.

The universal fraternity of the Monastic Orders was even more intimate than that of the Clergy generally. Everywhere, from the Scottish Islands to the Spanish frontier of Christendom, the Benedictine, the Clugniac, the Cistertian, might find a home: the abbey of his brethren opened to him its hospitable doors. While this was of less importance to these more sedentary orders, the wandering Friars enjoyed an incalculable advantage in finding everywhere brethren connected with them by a closer, as they thought, a holier tie, than that of kindred. This ubiquitous association had the power, and some of the mystery, without the suspicion and hatred which attach to secret societies. It was a perpetual campaign, set in motion and still moving on with simultaneous impulse, from one or from several centres, but with a single aim, the aggrandisement of the society with all its results for evil or for good.

COMMON LANGUAGE OF THE CLERGY.—The Clergy alone had a common language throughout Western Christendom. This was far more than their bond, it was among the most lasting guarantees of their power. For it was not from their sacred character, or even their general intellectual superiority alone, but not a little also from this circumstance that they held and retained the administration of public affairs. No Royal Embassy was without its Prelate, even if the Ambassadors were not all Prelates, for they only could converse freely together without mutual misunderstanding of their barbarous jargon, or the precarious aid of an interpreter. The Latin alone was as yet sufficiently precise and definite in its terms to form binding treaties; as the one language current throughout Europe it was of necessity that of all negociations between distant kingdoms.

SPIRITUAL AUTHORITY OF THE CLERGY.—The Clergy had an indefeasible power of predeclaring the eternal destiny of every living layman. Few presumed, openly at

least, to doubt the validity of such a sentence. Those who did so were sects, the outcasts of society, proscribed not only by the clerical, but the popular voice and hatred. The keys of heaven and hell were absolutely in the hands of the priesthood. And they had much influence even in the affairs of the present life. In the distribution of earthly misery or blessing they were the intercessors with the saints, as the saints were intercessors with heaven. They were invested in a kind of omniscience. Confession, since the decree of the Lateran Council under Innocent III., an universal, obligatory, indispensable duty, laid open the whole heart of every one, from the Prince to the peasant, before the Priesthood; the entire moral being of man, undistinguishable from his religious being, was under their control. The Sacraments, absolutely necessary to spiritual life, were at their disposal. The Excommunication cut the man off, whatever his rank or station, from the Church, beyond whose pale was utter impossibility of salvation. Such were the inculcated, by most recognised, at least apprehended, doctrines. The Interdict, the special prerogative of the Pope, as the antagonist, the controller of Sovereigns, smote a kingdom with spiritual desolation, and seemed to consign a whole nation, a whole generation, to irrevocable perdition.

Thus throughout the world no man could stand alone; the priest was the universal lord of the universal human conscience. The inward assurance of faith, of rectitude, of love of man or love of God, without the ratification of the confessor was nothing.

And by a strange, yet perhaps unavoidable anomaly, the sacredness of the priest was inalienable, and altogether irrespective of his personal character. All the acts of John XXIII. till his deposal, were the acts of the Successor of St. Peter. The historian's duty is to state the fact, rather than curiously and judicially to balance the good and evil resulting from this universal sacerdotal domination. But in spite of all its evils, it certainly did produce much good in such ages of class tyrannising over class, of incessant public or private wars, of violence, lawlessness, and brutality.

Morals of the Clergy.—One subject we would willingly decline, but the historian must not shrink from truth, however repulsive. Celibacy, which was the vital

energy of the clergy, was at the same time their fatal, irremediable weakness. One half, at least a large portion, of human kind, could not cease to be human kind. The universal voice, which arraigns the state of morals, as regards sexual intercourse, among the clergy, is not that of their enemies only, it is their own. To deny the dissoluteness of the Papal Court at Avignon, would be to discard all historical evidence. And the example set in high places could not be without frightful influence. The Avignonese Legates bore with them the morals of Avignon. The last strong effort to break the bonds of celibacy at the Council of Basle warned, but warned in vain. It is the solemn attestation to the State of Germany and the northern kingdoms. But Latin Christianity would not, could not, surrender this palladium of her power.*

POWER OF THE CLERGY IN DIFFERENT KINGDOMS.—Whatever the pretensions of the Hierarchy, and of the

* *Chaucer's Ecclesiastical Sketches.*—The strong Teutonic good sense of Chaucer had looked deeply into the whole monastic and sacerdotal system. He who drew the Monk, the Pardoner, the Friar Limitour, the Summoner, had seen far more than the outer form, the worldliness of the churchman, the abuse of indulgences, the extortions of the Friars, the licentiousness of the Ecclesiastical Courts, of the Ecclesiastics themselves; he had penetrated into the inner depths of the religion. Yet his wisdom, even in his most biting passages, is tempered with charity. Though every order is impersonated to the life, with all their weaknesses, follies, affectations, even vices and falsehoods, in unsparing freedom, in fearless truth, yet none, or hardly one, is absolutely odious; the jolly hunting Abbot, with his dainty horses, their bridles jingling in the wind, his grey-hounds, his bald shining head, his portly person, his hood fastened with a rich pin in a love-knot; the tender and delicate Prioress, with what we should now call her *sentimentality*, virtuous no doubt, but with her broad and somewhat suspicious motto about all conquering love; the Friar who so sweetly heard confession, and gave such pleasant absolution, urging men, instead of weeping and prayers, to give silver to the friars; with his lisping voice and twinkling eyes, yet the best beggar in his house; to whom the poorest widow could not deny a farthing; the Pardoner, with his wallet in his lap, brimful of pardons from Rome with his reliques or pillow-bere covered with part of Our Lady's veil, and the glass vessel with pig's bones; yet in church the Pardoner was a noble Ecclesinst, read well, chanted with such moving tones, that no one could resist him and not throw silver into the offertory. The Summoner, whose office and the Archdeacon's Court in which he officiated seem to have been most unpopular, is drawn in the darkest colours, with his fire-red cherubim's face, lecherous, venal, licentious. Above all, the Parish Priest of Chaucer has thrown off Roman mediæval sacerdotalism; he feels his proper place; he arrays himself only in the virtues which are the essence of his holy function. This unrivalled picture is the most powerful because the most quiet, uninsulting, unexasperating satire. It might have been drawn from Wycliffe, at Lutherworth, not at Oxford; from Wycliffe, not the fierce controversialist, but the affectionate and beloved teacher of his humble flock.

Pope as its head, however extensive and complicated the foundations of their power, yet the action of the State had in each country more or less limited sacerdotal domination, and had especially frustrated the establishment of the Papal Monarchy.

I. *In Italy.* In his double character of Italian Potentate and Pontiff of Christendom, the Pope, after the discomfiture of the Council of Basle, had resumed, in great measure, his ascendancy. He now aspired to reign supreme over Letters and Arts. But, from the time of Nicholas V., the Italian Potentate began to predominate over the Pope. The Successors of St. Peter for the most part aspired to found, or to aggrandise, a great family. Nepotism became characteristic of the Papal policy. And, like other sovereigns, the Pope was engaged in perpetual intrigue and frequent warfare—waged with fleshly weapons. Excommunications had lost their terrors in Italy. The other Italian Prelates, meanwhile, abstained mostly from direct intervention in politics, and devoted themselves to the patronage of literature—often not of the most Christian tone. The more religious spent their superfluous wealth on churches and other ecclesiastical objects. Venice adhered to her ancient jealous policy. She strictly forbade her Clergy to engage in politics. No Synods could be held without permission of the Council. The Republic maintained and exercised the right of censure on Venetian Bishops and on Cardinals. When she admitted a Bishop or Patriarch, he received his investiture of his temporal possessions, his ring and pastoral staff, from the Doge.

II. *In France.* The Pragmatic Sanction, not repealed until the reign of Francis I., left the disposal of the great preferments in the power of the Crown. But the "Gallican liberties" thus secured were claimed as a special, national *privilege*, not as a *right* inherent in the Church of every commonwealth. They asserted the exemption of France from what they acknowledged to be elsewhere an unlimited Papal autocracy.

The civil wars and the wars with England threw the Hierarchy of France, as it were, into the shade. The Churchmen were divided in these fatal quarrels. Subsequently the Church offered no resistance to the consolidation of the kingly power; the ecclesiastical nobles were mostly the obsequious partisans of the Crown.

III. *In Spain.* In Spain the Church had not begun to rule her kings with absolute sway; or rather her kings had not yet become in mind and heart Churchmen.

They were still combating the Mahometans in their own country; they did not yet aspire to contend against the rising religious liberties of Christian Europe, or to become the champions and sovereigns of Latin Christendom. Spain had given to the Church St. Dominic: she had yet to give Ximenes, Philip II., Torquenada, Loyola.

IV. *In Germany.* The strife of the Papacy and the Empire seemed altogether worn out: the Emperor was content to be a German sovereign, the Pope to leave the German sovereignty to the German Electors. The Bishop Electors no longer took the lead, or dictated to the Prince Electors. All was apparent submission, harmony, mutual respect; perhaps the terrors of the Turkish invasion, equally formidable to Pope and Emperor, aided in keeping the peace.

The balance of power was rather that of the Prince Electors and Princes of the Empire against the Emperor and the Pope, than of Emperor against Pope. The estrangement from the Papal Dominion, the once clamorous demand for a reformation of the Church, the yearning after Teutonic independence, had sunk into the depths of the national mind, into which it could not be followed by the most sagacious political or religious seer.

V. *In England.* England had long ceased to be the richest and most obedient tributary province of the Holy See. The Statutes of Mortmain, Provisors, Præmunire, had become the law of the land. Peers and Commons had united in the same jealousy of the exorbitant power and influence of the Pope. The remonstrances of the Popes against these laws had broken and scattered like foam upon the rocks of English pride and English justice. The Clergy, as one of the estates of the realm, hold their separate Parliament, grant their subsidies or benevolences; but they now take a humbler tone, meekly deprecate rather than fulminate anathemas against those who invade their privileges and immunities. Trembling for their own power, they care not to vindicate with offensive haughtiness that of the Pope. The Hierarchy, awed by the spreading opinions of the Lollards, had sought protection under the usurping house of Lancaster, and had

been accepted as faithful allies of the Crown under Henry IV. During Henry VI.'s minority, Beaufort strives with Gloucester for supreme power; but, besides being a Cardinal and Bishop, he is a prince of the blood and the King's uncle. In the French wars, and in the civil wars, Bishops seem to have sunk into their more proper and peaceful sphere. It is not till the war is over that they resume their seat or authority in the Parliament or Council Board. The Archbishop is the first subject in the realm, but in every respect a subject. Some of the great English Prelates, from Wykeham to Wolsey, seem to have been more prescient than those in other kingdoms of the coming change. It is shown in their consecration of large masses of ecclesiastical wealth and landed property for the foundation of colleges, rather than monasteries. The more magnificent projects of Wolsey seem, as it were, to be arming the Church for some imminent contest; they reveal a sagacious fore-knowledge that the Church must take new ground if she will maintain her rule over the mind of man.

Power of the Hierarchy unshaken.—Still, on the whole, throughout Christendom the vast fabric of the Hierarchy stood unshaken. In England alone there was suppressed insurrection, among the followers of Wycliffe, now obscure and depressed by persecution; and in Bohemia. In the latter country, the armies of Ziska and Procopius had for a while threatened to found an Anti-Hierarchical State. But Bohemia, again bowed under sacerdotal supremacy, was brooding in sullen sorrow over her lost independence. In no other land, except in individual minds, or in small despised sects, was there any thought, any yearning for the abrogation of the Hierarchical authority.

Unity of Creed.—Latin Christendom was one (excepting those who were self-outlawed, or out-lawed by the dominant authority from the Christian Monarchy), not only in the organization of the all ruling Hierarchy and the admission of Monkhood, it was one in the great system of belief. The Nicene formulary had been undisturbed, and had ruled with undisputed sway for centuries.

Unity of Popular Religion.—But the Creeds—that of the Apostles, that of Nicæa, or even that ascribed to St. Athanasius, and chanted in every Church of the

West—formed but a small part of the belief of Latin Christendom. That whole world was one in the popular religion. The same vast mythology commanded the general consent; the same angelology, demonology; the same worship of the Virgin and the Saints, the same reverence for pilgrimages and reliques, the same notions of the life to come, of hell, purgatory, heaven. In general, as springing out of like tendencies and prepossessions of mind, prevailed the like or kindred traditions; the world was one in the same vulgar superstitions. Man had divinised all those objects of awe and veneration, which were intermediate between the soul and God, "God" that is, "in Christ," as revealed in the Gospels. Tradition claimed equal authority with the new Testament. There was supposed to be a perpetual power in the Church, and in the Hierarchy the Ruler and Teacher of the Church, of infinitely expanding and multiplying the objects of faith; at length, of gradually authorising and superinducing as integral parts of Christianity the whole imaginative belief of the middle ages. Even where such belief had not been canonically enacted by Pope or Council, the tacit acceptance by the general practice of Priest as well as of people, was not less authoritative; popular adoration invested its own objects in uncontested sanctity. The Virgin Mary was rising, or had fully risen into Deity; already prayers rarely ascended directly to the Throne of Grace through the one Intercessor, a crowd of mediate agencies was almost necessary to speed the orison upward, and to command its acceptance, as it might thwart its blessing. Places, things, had assumed an inalienable holiness, with a concentered and emanative power of imparting or withholding spiritual influences. By the infusion of the Barbaric or Teutonic element, as well as by the religious movement which had stirred to its depths the old Roman society, mankind might seem renewing its youth, its spring time of life, with all its imaginative creativeness, and its unceasing surrender to whatever appeared to satisfy the yearnings of its hardly satisfied faith.

There was unity in the infinite diversity of the popular worship. Though each nation, province, parish, shrine, had its peculiar and tutelar Saint, none was without a Saint, and none denied the influence of the Saints of

others. Christianity was one in this materialistic intercommunion between the world of man and the extramundane ; that ulterior sphere, in its purer corporiety, yet still in its corporiety was perpetually becoming cognizable to the senses of man. It was one in the impersonation of all the agencies of nature, in that universal anthropomorphism, which, if it left something of vague and indefinite majesty to the Primal Parental Godhead, this was not from any high intellectual or mental conception of the incongruity of the human and the divine ; not from dread of the disparagement of the Absolute and the Infinite ; from no predilection for the true sublimity of higher Spiritualism ; but simply because its worship, content to rest on a lower sphere, humanised all which it actually adored, without scruple, without limit ; and this not in language only but in its highest conception of its real existence.

Popular conception of Evil Spirits.—The Devils of the Dark Ages are in the vulgar notion merely hideous, hateful, repulsive—often through the triumph of the Saint contemptible. It is not through the loftier passions of men, it is mostly by petty tricks and small annoyances, that the Evil One endeavours to mislead or molest the Saint. Even when he offers temptations on a larger scale, there is in general something cowardly or despicable ; his very tricks are often outtricked. The form which he assumed, and its attributes—the horns, the tail, the cloven foot—are vulgar and ludicrous. The stench which betrays his presence, his howlings and screechings, are but coarse and grovelling. If Devils at times assumed beautiful forms, as of wanton women to tempt the Saints, or entered into and possessed women of attractive loveliness, it was only for a time ; they withdrew and shrunk back to their own proper and native hideousness.

Magic and Witchcraft.—Closely connected with these demoniac influences was the belief in magic, witchcraft, spells, talismans, conjurations. These were all the actual delusions or operations of obedient or assistant evil spirits. The Legislature of the Church and of the State, from Constantine down to a late period—the post-papal period of Christianity—Roman, Barbarian, even modern codes, recognised as real facts all these wild hallucina-

tions of our nature, and by arraying them in the dignity of heretical, impious, and capital offences, impressed more deeply and perpetuated the vulgar belief. They have now almost, but by no means altogether, vanished before the light of reason and of science. Wisdom and humanity may look with patience, with indulgence, with sympathy on many points of Christian superstition, as bringing home to hearts which would otherwise have been untouched, unsoftened, unconsoled, the blessed influences and peace of religion; but on this sad chapter, extending far beyond the dark ages, it will look with melancholy, indeed, but unmitigated reprobation. The whole tendency was to degrade and brutalise human nature.

WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN.—High above the innumerable host of Saints, if not within the Trinity (it were not easy, if we make not large allowance for the wild language of rapturous adoration, to draw any distinction) hardly below, was seated the Queen of Heaven. The worship of the Virgin, since the epoch of Gregory the Great, had been constantly on the ascendant; chivalry above all would seem, as it were, to array the Christian world as the Church Militant of the Virgin. Every knight was the sworn servant of our Lady; to her he looked for success in battle. Poetry took even more irreverent license; its adoration in its intensity became revoltingly profane. So completely was this worship the worship of Christendom, that every cathedral, almost every spacious church, had its Chapel of our Lady. To the festivals of the Annunciation and the Purification was added that of Assumption of the Virgin. A rich and copious legend revealed the whole history of her birth and life, of which the Sacred Scriptures were altogether silent, but of which the spurious Gospels furnished many incidents, thus, as it were, taking their rank as authorities with the Apostolic four.

THE SAINTS.—The worship of the Saints might seem to be endangered by their multiplicity, by their infinity. Every faculty, every feeling, every passion, every affection, every interest was for centuries in a state of perpetual excitement to quicken and intensify this wonder-fed and wonder-seeking worship. Against all these influences stood one faculty of man alone, and that with

difficulty roused out of its long lethargy, rebuked, cowed, proscribed, shuddering at what might be, which was sure to be, branded as impiety—the Reason. Popular admiration for some time enjoyed, unchecked, the privilege of canonisation. Saints became such, as it were, by acclamation. But as they at length began to multiply thus beyond measure, the Pope assumed the prerogative of advancing to the successive ranks of Beatitude and Sanctity. Still higher authority was thus given to those who received this formal sanction of their pretensions. The Saints ceased to be local objects of reverence; they were proclaimed to Christendom, in the irrefragable Bull, as worthy of general worship.

There were some of course the universal Saints of Christendom; the Apostles, the early Martyrs; some of Latin Christendom, the four great Fathers of the Latin Church; some few, like St. Thomas of Canterbury, the Martyr of the Ecclesiastical Order, would be held up by the whole hierarchy as the pattern and model of sanctity. Each order was bound especially to hold up the saints of that order. All these were world-wide Saints: their shrines arose in all lands. Others had a more limited fame. Each kingdom of Christendom had its tutelar Saint. The history of Latin Christianity may be traced in its more favored saints, first Martyrs, then Bishops, then Fathers, then Monks (the type St. Benedict). As the Church grew in wealth, Kings or Nobles, magnificent donors, were the Saints; as it grew in power, rose hierarchical Saints, like Becket. St. Louis was the Saint of the Crusades and Chivalry; St. Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura of Scholasticism. In later days Christian charity, as well as Mysticism, had its Saints, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Teresa, St. Francis de Sales.

Legends of Saints.—Every one of these Saints had his life of wonder, the legend of his virtues, his miracles, perhaps his martyrdom, his shrines, his reliques. The legend was to his votaries a sort of secondary Gospel, wrought into the belief by the constant iteration of its names and events. The legend, in truth, was the dominant, universal, poetry of the times. Unless it had been poetry it had not ruled the mind of man; but having been poetry, it must submit to remain poetry. It is the mythic literature of Christendom. And so it is that

Hagiography has withdrawn into its proper domain, and left the province of human affairs to history, which is not disdainful, of course, of the incidental information or illustration of events, manners, characters, which transpire through the cloud of marvels.

RELIQUES.—The legend was perpetually confirmed, illustrated, kept alive by the substantial if somewhat dimly and mysteriously shown, reliques; the treasure of the community, or the property, the talisman of the prelate, the noble, or the king. No wonder that with the whole Christian world deeming it meritorious and holy to believe, dangerous, impious to doubt, there should be no end or limit to belief; that the wood of the true cross should grow into a forest; that the most perishable things should become imperishable—the garments of the Saviour and the Saints. Not even the fiercest feuds could detect imposture. The Crusades immeasurably increased the wealth of Western Christendom in relics, and opened an important branch of traffic. To the very verge of the middle ages the worship of reliques is in its unshaken authority. The exhibition of the Holy Coat of Treves, a treasure possessed by more than one other church, and more than one avouched by Papal authority—may show how deep-rooted in human nature is this strange form of religiousness.

PURGATORY.—Throughout the middle ages the world after death continued to reveal more and more fully its awful secrets. Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, became more distinct, if it may be so said, more visible. Their site, their topography, their torments, their trials, their enjoyments became more conceivable, almost more palpable to sense. The existence of Purgatory was now as much an article of uncontested popular belief as that of Heaven or Hell. It were as unjust and unphilosophical to attribute all the legendary lore which realised Purgatory to the sordid invention of the Churchman or the Monk, as it would be unhistorical to deny the use which was made of this superstition to exact tribute from the fears or the fondness of mankind. But the abuse grew out of the belief; the belief was not slowly, subtly, deliberately instilled into the mind for the sake of the abuse.

MASSES.—Praying souls out of Purgatory by masses said on their behalf, was gradually converted into a trade,

an inexhaustible source of wealth. For it became successively an ordinary office, an office which deserved, which could demand, then which did demand, the most prodigal remuneration.

INDULGENCES.—It was later that the Indulgence, originally the remission of so much penance, of so many days, weeks, months, years; or of that which was the commutation for penance, so much almsgiving or munificence to Churches or Churchmen, in sound at least, extended (and mankind, the high and low vulgar of mankind, are governed by sound) its significance: it was literally understood as the remission of so many years, sometimes centuries of Purgatory.

LITERATURE ALMOST WHOLLY THEOLOGICAL.—Latin letters having become the absolute, exclusive property of the Clergy, Theology, of course, took the first place, and almost absorbed into itself every other branch of Literature. Oratory was that of the Pulpit, philosophy was divinity in another form. Even poetry taught theology, or at its highest celebrated the holy exploits of hermits or monks, of saints and martyrs, and so it was through centuries, theology having once assumed, held its unshaken supremacy till towards the close of the middle age.

PRECURSORS OF SCHOLASTICISM.—The remote ancestors of the Scholastic Theology, properly so called, were Scotus Erigena, Anselm, and Abélard. The solitary Erigena stands as a lonely beacon in his dark and turbulent times, and left, if any, only remote followers. His philosophy was what the Empire of Charlemagne had been, a vast organisation, out of the wreck of which rose later schools. Anselm was, in our judgment, the real parent of mediæval theology, of that theology, which, at the same time that it lets loose the reason, reins it in with a strong hand; but his lofty enterprise, the reconciliation of divinity and philosophy, had been premature, and had ended in failure. Abélard too, had been compelled to submit his rebellious philosophy at the feet of authority. His fate for a time, to outward appearance at least, crushed the bold truths which lay hid in his system.

EARLIER SCHOLASTICISM.—Theology, rightly so called, professed to be primarily grounded on the Scriptures, but on the Scriptures interpreted, commented on, supplemented by a succession of writers (the Fathers), by decrees

of Councils, and what was called the authority of the Church. The ecclesiastical law had now taken the abbreviated form of a code, rather a manual, under Ivo of Chartres. So Theology was to be cast into short authoritative sentences, which might be at once the subject and the rule of controversy—the war-law of the schools. Logic might lend its humble ministrations to prove in syllogistic form these canonised truths; if it proceeded further, it became a perilous and proscribed weapon.

PETER THE LOMBARD.—Peter the Lombard was, as it were, the Euclid of this science. His sentences were to be the irrefragable axioms and definitions, from which were to be deduced all the higher and more remote truths of divinity; on them the great theological mathematicians built what appeared their infallible demonstrations. Peter knew not, or disdainfully threw aside, the philosophical cultivation of his day. He adhered rigidly to all which passed for Scripture, and was the authorised interpretation of the Scripture, to all which had become the creed in the traditions, law in the decretals, of the Church. His distinctions are endless, subtle, idle; but he wrote from conflicting authorities to reconcile writers at war with each other, at war with themselves. The Lombard announced himself, and was accepted as the mediator, the final arbiter in this endless litigation. The litigation indeed might still go on, but within the limits which he had rigidly established; the mode of proof might be interminably contested in the schools, the conclusion was already irrefragably fixed.

MYSTICS.—From the hard and arid system of Peter the Lombard, the profound devotion of the Middle Ages took refuge in mysticism. Thus the silent, solemn cloister was, as it were, constantly balancing the noisy and pugnacious school. The end of the mystical philosophy was not victory, but the inward satisfaction of the soul.

INTRODUCTION OF ARISTOTLE AND THE ARABIAN PHILOSOPHY.—A momentous change in the tone of the scholastic theology was gradually effected in the course of the thirteenth century, by the introduction into the Christian schools (1) of works of Aristotle, either previously unknown, or now communicated in a more perfect form: (2) of the Arabic philosophy, which had now grown to its height under the Abasside Caliphs in the East, and

under the Ommiades in Spain. The eastern schools had culminated in Avicenna, the western in Averrhoes. Schools had arisen throughout Moorish Spain. Averrhoes had an endless race of successors. Aristotle's Logic had indeed been previously known, chiefly through imperfect Latin translations or summaries. But his Metaphysics and Physics were now circulated, at first in Arabian versions, then, especially after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in the original Greek.

VIOLENT OPPOSITION AT FIRST MADE TO THEIR RECEPTION.—Early in the thirteenth century a violent clamour was raised in the centre of the most profound theological learning of the Church, the University of Paris, against "the philosophy of Aristotle." It is not now presumptuous Dialectics, which would submit (as in Abélard's case) theological truth to logical system, but philosophical theories, directly opposed to the doctrines of the Church. The denounced books were sentenced by the University to be burnt. Six years after the Papal Legate interdicted the reading of them in the schools of Paris. A milder decree of Gregory IX. ordered that they should not be used till they had been corrected by the Church theologians. But the secret of all this terror and perplexity was rather in the Arabian comment than in the genuine Aristotle, which was not as yet published.

CHANGE OF SENTIMENT.—Towards the end of the century the philosophers of Greece and Rome were well known and habitually cited and commented on in the schools.

The Arabian authors also are not only known, but in their case, as well as in that of the classical philosophers, the suspicion, the jealousy, the awe, have fallen away. Their authority, as representatives of a lofty and commanding philosophy, which has a right to respectful attention, is fully acknowledged.

GREAT ÆRA OF SCHOLASTICISM.—Now came the great age of the schoolmen. They undertook the task of subjugating Aristotelism to the science of theology, not the logical science only, but the whole range of the Stagyrite's philosophy. It was to be an obsequious and humble, though honored ally, not a daring rival; they would set free, yet at the same time bind its stubborn spirit in their firm grasp, to more than amity, to perfect

harmony. Latin Christianity now raised up those vast monuments of theology which amaze and appal the mind with the enormous accumulation of intellectual industry, ingenuity, and toil; but of which almost the sole direct result to posterity is this barren amazement. The tomes of scholastic divinity may be compared with the Pyramids of Egypt, which stand in that rude majesty, that is commanding from the display of immense human power, yet oppressive from the sense of the waste of that power for no discoverable use. Whoever penetrates within, finds himself bewildered and lost in a labyrinth of small dark intricate passages and chambers, devoid of grandeur, devoid of solemnity; he may wander without end, and find nothing! It was not indeed the enforced labour of a slave population; it was rather voluntary slavery, submitting in its intellectual ambition and its religious patience to monastic discipline; it was the work of a small intellectual oligarchy, monks of necessity in mind and habits; for it imperiously required absolute seclusion either in the monastery or in the university, a long life under monastic rule. No schoolman could be a great man but as a schoolman. William of Ockham alone was a powerful demagogue, scholastic even in his political writings, but still a demagogue.

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF SCHOLASTICISM.—It may be said of Scholasticism, as a whole, that whoever takes delight in what may be called gymnastic exercises of the reason or the reasoning powers, efforts which never had, and hardly cared to have, any bearing on the life, or even on the sentiments and opinions of mankind, may study these works, the crowning effort of Latin, of sacerdotal, and monastic Christianity, and may acquire something like respect for these forgotten athletes in the intellectual games of antiquity. They are not of so much moment in the history of religion, for their theology was long before rooted in the veneration and awe of Christendom; nor in that of philosophy, for except what may be called mythological subtleties, questions relating to the world of angels and spirits, of which, according to them, we might suppose the revelation to man as full and perfect, as that of God, or of the Redeemer, there is hardly a question which has not been examined in other language, and in less dry and syllogistic form. There is no acute observation

on the workings of the human mind, no bringing to bear extraordinary facts on the mental, or mingled mental and corporeal, constitution of our being. With all their researches into the unfathomable, they have fathomed nothing; with all their vast logical apparatus, they have proved nothing to the satisfaction of the inquisitive mind. Not only have they not solved any of the insoluble problems of our mental being, our primary conceptions, our relations to God, to the Infinite; neither have they (a more possible task) shown them to be insoluble.

St. Thomas Aquinas, died 1274.—Of all the schoolmen Thomas Aquinas has left the greatest name. In his works, or rather in his one great work, is the final result of all which has been decided by Pope or Council, taught by the Fathers, accepted by tradition, argued in the schools, inculcated in the confessional. The Sum of Theology is the authentic, authoritative, acknowledged code of Latin Christianity. We cannot but contrast this vast work with the original Gospel; to this bulk has grown the New Testament, or rather the doctrinal and moral part of the New Testament.* But Aquinas is an intellectual theologian: he approaches more nearly than most philosophers, certainly than most divines, to pure embodied intellect. In his serene confidence that all must end in good, he moves the most startling and even perilous questions, as if they were the most indifferent, the very being of God. God must be revealed by syllogistic process. He is nearly as consummate a sceptic, almost atheist, as he is a divine and theologian. On both sides of every question he casts the argument into one of his clear, distinct syllogisms, and calmly places himself as arbiter, and passes judgment in one or a series of still more unanswerable syllogisms. He has assigned its unassailable province to Church authority, to tradition, or the Fathers, faith and works; but beyond, within the proper sphere of philosophy, he asserts full freedom.

Duns Scotus.—The vast writings of Duns Scotus spread out as the dreary sandy wilderness of philosophy. The toil, if the story of his early death be true, the rapidi-

* My (Dean Milman's) copy of the *Summa* of Aquinas has above 1,200 of the very closest printed folio pages, in double columns, without the indexes.

ty of this man's mental productiveness is perhaps the most wonderful fact in the intellectual history of our race. He is said to have died at the age of thirty-four, having written thirteen closely-printed folio volumes, without an image, perhaps without a superfluous word, except the eternal logical formularies and amplifications. These volumes do not contain his Sermons and Commentaries, which were of endless extent. The mind of Duns might seem a wonderful reasoning machine; whatever was thrown into it came out in syllogisms; of the coarsest texture, yet in perfect flawless pattern. Logic was the idol of Duns; and this logic worship is the key to his whole philosophy. Ratiocination was not an instrument, a means for discovering truth; it was an ultimate end, its conclusions were truth. Even his language was logic-worship. The older schoolmen preserved something of the sound, the flow, the grammatical construction, we must not say of Cicero or Livy, but of the earlier Fathers, especially of St. Augustine. The Latinity of Duns is a barbarous jargon. His subtle distinctions constantly demanded new words; he made them without scruple. It would require the most patient study, as well as a new dictionary, to comprehend his terms. Duns Scotus is an Aristotelian beyond Aristotle, a Platonist beyond Plato; at the same time the most sternly orthodox of Theologians. Yet translate him, as some have attempted to do, into intelligible language, and he is always suggestive, sometimes conclusive.

Scotists and Thomists.—The war of Scotists and Thomists long divided the schools, not the less fierce from the utter darkness in which it was enveloped. It is not easy to define in what consisted their implacable, unforgiven points of difference. If each combatant had been compelled rigidly to define every term which he employed, concord might not perhaps have been impossible; but words were their warfare, and the war of words their business, their glory. The Conceptualism or Electicism of St. Thomas (he cannot be called a Nominalist) admitted so much Realism, under other forms of speech; the Realism of Duns Scotus was so absolutely a Realism of words, reality was with him something so thin and unsubstantial, that nothing less than the inveterate pugnacity of scholastic teaching, and the rivalry of the

orders to which they respectively belonged, could have perpetuated the strife.

WILLIAM OF OCKHAM.—As deep in the very depths of metaphysics as Aquinas and Scotus, as powerful a wielder of the great arm of the war logic; more fearless and peremptory or less under the awe of the Church in his conclusions; William of Ockham had already shaken the pillars of the hierarchical polity by his audacious assertion of the more than co-equal rights of the temporal sovereign; by his stern, rigid nominalism, he struck with scholastic arguments, in the hardest scholastic method, at the foundations of the Scholastic Philosophy. In his disputation on the ecclesiastical power he refused to acknowledge in the Pope any authority whatever as to secular affairs. The partisans of the Papal temporal omnipotence were to be driven as heretics from the Church. In philosophy Ockham was as intrepid and revolutionary as in his political writings. He is a consummate schoolman in his mastery, as in his use of logic; he wears the armour of his age, engages in the spirit of his age, in the controversies of his age; but his philosophy is that of centuries later. He at once and remorselessly destroys all the idols of the former schoolmen. Realism must surrender all her multifarious essences, her abstract virtues, her species, her ideas. Universals are but modes of thought; ideas no longer things but acts of the thinking being. And again, universals are words, whether conceived, spoken, or written words, which by common consent express under one term many singular things. Thus may Ockham seem to have anticipated the famous axiom of Leibnitz, and to have taken his stand on the same ground with Kant. What Abélard was to the ancestors of the Schoolmen, was Ockham to the Schoolmen themselves. They could not but eventuate in him; the united stream could not but endeavour to work itself clear; the incessant activity of thought could hardly fail to call forth a thinker like Ockham.

SCHOLASTICISM INDICATIVE AND FRUITFUL OF INNOVATING TENDENCIES.—It was an extraordinary fact that in such an age, when Latin Christianity might seem at the height of its mediæval splendour and power, so many powerful intellects should be so incessantly busy with the metaphysics of religion—religion not as taught

by authority, but under philosophic guidance with the aid of the Pagan Aristotle and the Mohammedan Arabians. With all its seeming outward submission to authority, Scholasticism at last was a tacit universal insurrection against authority: it was the swelling of the ocean before the storm; it began to assign bounds to that which had been the universal all-embracing domain of Theology. It was a sign of the re-awakening life of the human mind that theologians dared, that they thought it their privilege, that it became a duty to philosophise. There was vast waste of intellectual labour; but still it was intellectual labour. Perhaps at no time in the history of man have so many minds of great vigour and acuteness been employed on subjects almost purely speculative. Though it was but a trammelled, reluctant liberty—liberty which locked again its own broken fetters, still it could not but keep alive, and perpetuate, the desire of more perfect, more absolute emancipation.

DECLINE OF SCHOLASTICISM.—At the time of Nicolas V. became manifest the great revolution which was eventually to be fatal to the exclusive dominion of Latin Christianity. Scholasticism, the last development of that exclusive Hierarchical Science, which had swallowed up all other sciences, of which philosophy was but a subject province, and dialectics an humble instrument, found itself, instead of the highest knowledge and the sole consummate dictatorial learning of the world, no more than the retired and self-exiled study of a still decreasing few, the professional occupation of a small section of the reading and inquiring world. Its empire had visibly passed away—its authority was shaken. Still, it expired only by degrees; its bonds were loosened, not cast off; if its forms had given place to others more easy, natural, rhetorical, its modes of thought, its logic, and its definitions still swathed the dead body of Christian Theology.

NICOLAS V. ELECTED POPE, 1447.—Nicolas V., as Pope, as sovereign of Rome, as patron of letters and arts, stood, consciously perhaps, but with a dim perception of the change, at the head of a new æra. It was an epoch in Christian civilisation. To him the Pope might seem as destined for long ages to rule the subject and tributary world; the great monarchies, the Empire, France, Spain,

England, were yet to rise, each obedient or hostile to the Pope as might suit their policy. He could not foresee that the Pope, from the high autocrat over all, would become only one of the Powers of Christendom. But the revival of learning, which he so actively promoted, was but one of four great causes in silent, irresistible operation throughout Western Christendom, mutually co-operative, blending with and strengthening each other, ominous of and preparing the revolution of the next century.

I. PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN INTELLECT.—The progress of the human intellect was inevitable in the order of things, and resulted in a two-fold oppugnancy to the established dominion of the Church.

1. It aggravated the long felt impatience, intolerance of the oppressions, the abuses of the Papacy, of the Papal Court, and of the Papal religion; impatience which did not of necessity involve the rejection of the doctrines of Latin Christianity. The enormous powers still asserted by the Pope over temporal sovereigns,* the immunities claimed by the Clergy as to their persons and from the common burdens of the state, the exorbitant taxation, the venality of Rome, above all, the Indulgences, with which the Papal power in its decline seemed determined wantonly to insult the moral and religious sense of mankind. Long before Luther this abuse had rankled in the heart of Christendom. Nor was there as yet any general improvement in the lives of the Clergy or of the Monks, which might rebuke the vulgar and natural interpretation of these Indulgences.

2. The antagonism of the more enlightened intellect to the *doctrines* of the Mediæval Church was slower, more timid, more reluctant. It was as yet but doubt, suspicion, indifference; the irreligious were content to be quietly irreligious; the religious had not as yet found in the plain Biblical doctrines that on which they could calmly and contentedly rest their faith. Religion had not risen to a purer spirituality to compensate for the loss of the materialistic worship of the dominant Church. Meanwhile the clergy slept on the brink of the precipice.

* The distinction must not be forgotten between the powers *claimed by*, and those actually *conceded to*, the Popes in each kingdom.—ED.

II. REVIVAL OF LETTERS.—The second omen, at once and sign of change, was the cultivation of classical learning. Letters almost at once ceased to be cloistral, hierarchical, before long almost to be Christian. In Italy indeed the Pope had set himself at the head of this vast movement. But notwithstanding his position, the clergy rapidly ceased to be the almost exclusive depositaries of letters. On every side were expanding new avenues of inquiry, new trains of thought; new models of composition were offering themselves; all tended silently to impair the reverence for the ruling authorities. Men could not labour to write like Cicero and Cæsar without imbibing something of their spirit. Scholasticism had crushed itself by its own weight. Plato now drove out the Theologic Platonism, Aristotle the Aristotelism of the schools. The Platonism, indeed, of Marsilius Ficinus, taking its interpretation rather from the Alexandrians, would hardly have offended Julian himself by any obtrusive display of Christianity. The cultivation of Greek was in other ways still more fatal to Latin domination. Even the familiar study of the Greek Fathers was altogether alien to the scholastic tone of Latin Theology. They knew nothing of the Latin supremacy, nothing of the rigid form, which many of its doctrines, as of Transubstantiation, had assumed. Greek revealed a whole religious world, extraneous, and in many respects oppugnant to Latin Christianity. But the most fatal result was the revelation of the Greek Testament, necessarily followed by that of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the dawn of a wider Biblical criticism. The Vulgate was disenthroned from its absolute exclusive authority. Biblical criticism once begun, the old authoritative interpreters were thrown into obscurity. Erasmus was sure to come; with Erasmus a more simple, clear, popular interpretation of the divine word. The mystic and allegoric comment, on which rested wholly some of the boldest assertions of Latin Christianity, fell away at once before his closer, more literal, more grammatical study of the text.

III. MODERN LANGUAGES.—The growth of the modern languages not merely into vernacular means of communication, but into the vehicles of letters, of poetry, of oratory, of history, of preaching, at length of national documents, threw back Latin more and more into a

learned dialect. It is curious that in Italy the revival of classical learning for a time crushed the native literature, or at least retarded its progress. North of the Alps the vernacular translation of the Bible was an inevitable result of the perfection of the new languages. In Germany and in England that translation tended most materially, by fixing a standard in general of vigorous, noble, poetic, yet idiomatic language, to hasten, to perpetuate the change. It was natural that as soon as a nation had any books of its own, it should seek to have the Book of Books. The Church, indeed, trembling for the supremacy of her own Vulgate, and having witnessed the fatal perils of such translations in the successes of all the earlier dissidents, was perplexed and wavered in her policy. Now she thundered out her awful prohibition; now endeavoured herself to supply the want which would not remain unsatisfied, by a safer and a sanctioned version. But the mind of man could not wait on her hesitating movements. The free, bold, untrammelled version had possession of the national mind; it had become the undeniable patrimony of the people, the standard of the language.

IV. PRINTING AND PAPER.—Just at this period, the two great final Reformers, the inventor of printing and the manufacturer of paper, had perfected their harmonious devices. Books, from slow, toilsome, costly productions, became cheap, were multiplied with rapidity, which seemed like magic, and were accessible to thousands to whom manuscripts were utterly unapproachable. The power, the desire, increased with the facility of reading. Theology, from an abstruse, recondite science, the exclusive possession of an Order, became popular; it was ere long the general study, the general passion. The Preacher was not sought the less on account of this vast extension of his influence; he became a Pamphleteer; he addressed a whole realm; he addressed mankind. To many the Book became the Preacher, the Instructor, the Confessor. The conscience began to claim the privilege, the right, of granting absolution to itself. All this, of course, at first timidly, intermittingly, with many compunctious returns to the deserted fold. The Hierarchy endeavored to seize and bind down to their own service these unruly powers. Their presses at Venice, at Florence, at Rome,

displayed the new art in its highest magnificence; but it was not the splendid volume, the bold and majestic type, the industrious editorial care, which worked downwards into the depths of society; it was the coarse, rude, brown sheet; the ill-cut German type; the brief, sententious, plain tract, which escaped all vigilance, which sunk untraced, unanswered, unconfuted, into the eager mind of awakening man.

The sternest vigilance might be exercised by the Argus-eyes of the still ubiquitous Clergy. The most solemn condemnations, the most awful prohibitions might be issued; yet from the birth-day of printing, their sole exclusive authority over the mind of man was gone. Latin Christianity had to cede a large portion of its realms, which became the more flourishing, prosperous, intellectual portion of the world, to Teutonic Christianity.

HOW FAR WAS THE REFORMATION, AS IT HAPPENED, INEVITABLE?—It is difficult, however vain it may be, not to speculate how far the conservative reformation in the Pope and in the Hierarchy, urged so earnestly and eloquently by Gerson, more vehemently, and therefore more alarmingly, by the Council of Basle, might have averted or delayed the more revolutionary reform of the next century. Had not the Papacy, had not the Hierarchy, with almost judicial blindness, thrown itself across the awakening moral sense of man; had not this flagrant incongruity of asserting the Divine power of Christ to be vested in men, to so great an extent utterly unchristian, compelled reflection, doubt, disbelief—at length indignant reprobation—would the crisis have come when it came? We may imagine a more noiseless, peaceful, alas, we must add, bloodless change! We may imagine the Gospel, now newly revealed, as it were, in its original language (the older Testament in its native Hebrew), and illustrated by the earlier Greek Fathers, translated into all living languages, and by the new art of printing become of general and familiar use, gradually dispersing all the clouds of wild allegoric interpretation, of mythology and materialism, which had been gathering over it for centuries, and thus returning to its few majestic primal truths in the Apostolic creed. We may even imagine the Hierarchy receding into their older sphere, instructors, examples in their families as in themselves,

of all the virtues and charities; the religious administrators of simpler rites. Yet who that calmly, philosophically, surveys the power and strength of the Latin religion, the religion of centuries, the religion of a continent; its extraordinary and felicitous adaptation to all the wants and necessities of man; its sympathy with some of the dominant faculties of our being, those especially developed at certain periods of civilisation; its unity, its magisterial authority, the depth to which it had sunk in the human heart, the feelings, affections, passions, fears, hopes, which it commanded; who that surveys it in its vast standing army of the clergy, and monks, and friars, that had so long taken service in its defence, with its immense material strength of churches, monasteries, established laws, rank; in its letters, and in its arts; in its charitable, educational institutions; who will not rather wonder at its dissolution, its abolition in so large a part of Christendom, than at its duration?

DANGERS INCIDENT RESPECTIVELY TO LATIN AND TEUTONIC CHRISTIANITY.—Latin, the more objective faith, tends to materialism, to servility, to blind obedience or blind guidance, to the tacit abrogation, if not the repudiation, of the moral influence by the undue elevation of the dogmatic and ritual part. It is prone to become, as it has become, Paganism with Christian images, symbols, and terms; it has in its consummate state, altogether set itself above and apart from Christian, from universal morality, and made what are called works of faith the whole of religion.

So Teutonic Christianity, more self-depending, more self-guided, more self-wrought out, is not without its peculiar dangers. It may become self-sufficient, unwarrantably arrogant, impatient not merely of control but of all subordination, incapable of just self-estimation. It will have a tendency to isolate the man, either within himself, or as a member of a narrow sect, with all the evils of sectarianism, blind zeal, obstinate self-reliance, or rather self adoration, hatred, contempt of others, moroseness, exclusiveness, fanaticism, undue appreciation of small things. It will have its own antinomianism, a dissociation of that moral and religious perfection of man which is Christianity; it will appeal to conscious, direct influences of divine grace, with as much confidence, and as little discrimination or judgment, as the Latin to that through the intermediate hierarchy and ritual of the Church.

APPENDIX II.

QUESTIONS

CONNECTED WITH

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

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A.

COLLISIONS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE INEVITABLE. IMPERIAL PRINCIPLE OF THEIR ALLIANCE.

[Selected from Mr. Gladstone*.]

PRE-CHRISTIAN PAGANISM SUBORDINATE TO THE CIVIL POWER.—The temporal aspects of the life of man have ever been, and must always be, in the closest relations with the spiritual. Before the advent of our Lord the system now called Erastian prevailed; it has all the authority of Pagan precedent. Creed, priesthood, ritual, all that constituted the religion of the masses of mankind, were in a subjection to the State, only qualified by such advantage as the necessities of the civil power and the superstition of the vulgar secured to the priesthood. The religion of the world was broken up into fragments, and the State determined the order and the relations in which these should stand side by side. It was a power born to universal command, and to very high and sacred duties. Its first and inalienable vocation, says Savigny, was to make the idea of right as between man and man dominant in the visible world. What part of life is there, whether domestic, civil, or religious, that is not in some sense touched by this all-embracing, yet I must add, this just definition?

RISE AND CLAIMS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.—But after the promulgation of the Gospel it was found

* *Letter to the Bishop of London.* 1850. pp. 24—25.

that a new society had been established in the world, claiming to pervade all lands, and to command the allegiance of all men in each of them. This allegiance, too, though spiritual in its kind, yet reached in some sense to all their acts, because all the acts of a Christian were to be done to the glory of God, and therefore must needs be under the guidance of the spiritual principle, which had its home in the Church, and whose light came by the channel of Her teaching. It is true that this latter kingdom was a kingdom not of this world, but it was in this world; it had numberless points of necessary contact with its affairs, and the infirmity and corruption that belong to man, in or out of the hierarchy, wrought constantly to increase them by adding others which were needless and hurtful to spiritual ends. How to adjust the claims of these two authorities upon the same ground, and in the same subject-matter, each claiming universal command, though in respects primarily distinct, was a problem, not indeed impossible of solution, but yet the most difficult, as history bears witness, that has ever been presented to man in his social relations.

IMPERIAL SCHEME FOR RECONCILING THE PRETENSIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.—Now the records of history appear to show that in days long antecedent to the Reformation, which were prosperous and honorable to both the parties in this great arbitrement, the basis on which they co-operated was this: the Civil Power lent the support of law and the strong hand to the decrees of the Church, and aided her to make head against the anarchy of the times: the Church promulgated those decrees under the sanction of the civil power, and thus afforded it an adequate guarantee against the encroachments of priestly ambition, while to the people law was presented as an unity, and escaped the risk of losing by division, and perhaps by conflict, the force of its claim on their obedience. It is not necessary to examine up to what precise point this is true, or whether at any time it extended so far as to a formal contract on the part of the Church, surrendering her separate action; all that is now assumed is this, that in such periods as those of Justinian and Charlemagne, the general rule was such as has been described. The submission of the English Clergy carried this general rule into fixed agreement.

B.

ON THE HISTORICAL RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE GENERALLY.

[Selected from Dr. Whewell.*]

CHRISTIAN CHURCH ESTABLISHED.—The internal government exercised by religion over the Christians did not immediately come into conflict with the external government of the State; for the precepts of Christianity taught men to obey the existing authorities:—to pay tribute: to submit themselves to every ordinance of man; to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's. But still, in proportion as Christianity became more extensively diffused among the subjects of the Roman Empire, the incongruities which flowed from the existence of two governments, the ecclesiastical and the civil, with no acknowledged and definite relation between them, became more and more unsufferable. For the Christians were, by their religion, associated into an organised body. They had their own governors and officers; and their own administration for purposes of justice and order. They had already from the first been enjoined (*e. g.* by St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi. 7) not to appeal to the tribunals of the State in support of their rights. They habitually raised among themselves sums of money for the support of their ministers and worship, and for the relief of their poor. They had been allowed to acquire property in lands and buildings, for instance, their churches. The Christian body possessed the power of inflicting a most heavy punishment upon those members who grossly transgressed its laws, for it could, by Excommunication, exclude them from Christian privileges and hopes. These influences had, in the time of Constantine, made the Christian organisation of the Roman state

* *Elements of Morality, including Polity. Ed.* 1848. pp. 225—245.

much more real and effective than its traditionary political organisation; and it appears allowable to say that the only mode by which health and vigour could then be given to the civil government, was by recognising, as Constantine did, the authority of the Ecclesiastical Government. The Christian Religion was recognised as the national religion of the Roman Empire; the office and dignity of the Clergy were acknowledged; they were excused from several burdens which were imposed on other citizens; Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction was ratified; assemblies for the purposes of Ecclesiastical Government were authorised; the property of ecclesiastical bodies was secured; religious sanctions were thrown round the most solemn of political occasions; the times and places of Christian Worship were protected by law from interruption; the advice and assistance of eminent Christian ministers was sought in civil matters. By these steps, the Christian Church was made the *Established Church* in the Roman Empire.

WEIGHT OF THE CLERGY.—By the establishment of the Christian Church as a part of the Polity of the Empire, the clergy had naturally authority as well as maintenance assigned to them. The arbitration of the Bishops was ratified and enforced by positive laws; the Clergy were endowed with privileges in the courts of law and exemption from civil offices. It was natural that great weight should be attributed to the advice and judgment of the more eminent of the Clergy in all matters; and the counsel of Bishops was sought in the conduct of public affairs. And in the course of time the holders of ecclesiastical property became powerful and important members of the state in virtue of their property, as well as of their character. For a long period the establishment of the Church and the power of the Clergy led to the sway of moral and religious principles of a better and higher kind than were recognised by mere secular rulers. And the union of all the elements of the religious organisation, as members of the *Catholic* or Universal *Church*, gave to that organisation a strength which enabled it to resist and counteract the destructive and degrading influences which prevailed in the breaking up of the Roman Empire.

RISE OF SPIRITUAL DOMINATION.—But the growing consciousness of this strength [in combination with the

circumstances of the times—Ed.] led gradually to the assertion of an *Ecclesiastical Supremacy or Spiritual Domination;* a form of Polity which thus grew out of the Polity of an Established Church. According to this polity, the Christian Church has, here upon earth, a Sovereign Head to which the Sovereign of the State is subordinate. The pretended Head of the Church claimed this authority upon religious grounds, as vicar of Christ; a claim which was afterwards justly rejected by the most enlightened nations as a baseless usurpation. But for several centuries attempts were made to realise this large and lofty idea of a Universal Christian Church with a visible Sovereign established in it, having all the States of the Christian World for its members.

Religious grounds of the Papal Supremacy.—The Supremacy or Primacy, which has been claimed for the Bishop of Rome has been grounded on this argument: *First,* To St. Peter was given by Christ a Primacy, or Supremacy of official dignity and power in the Church, beyond the other Apostles; *Second,* this Primacy was an Office designed to be permanent in the Church; *Third,* the Bishop of Rome is St. Peter's Successor in this Office.

St. Peter's Primacy is false.—But every step of this argument fails. We do not find in the New Testament any Primacy ascribed to St. Peter. Christ gave his promises of future guidance and help, alike to all the Apostles. The power of the keys which was given to St. Peter (Matt. xvi. 19), was given to the other Apostels also (Matt. xviii. 18). The declaration (Matt. xvi. 18) *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it;* cannot be understood as if Christ's indestructible Church were to be built upon one particular person different from Himself. According to the views of commentators, ancient as well as modern, and the manifest bearing of the context, the expression *this rock* includes a reference not so much to Peter's person, as to his declaration just then made, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.* Even many of those among the ancient Christian writers who apply to St. Peter especially the terms, *Thou art the rock, and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,* interpret it of St. Peter's opening the preaching of Christ after the resurrection, and extending

his preaching to the Gentiles. Christ gave his Apostles an earnest warning when two of them, John and James, sought a superiority over the rest. In the history of the Apostles, we find no Primacy ascribed to Peter. St. James, not St. Peter, spoke in the name of the assembled Apostles at Jerusalem. St. Paul withstood Peter at Antioch, and declares that he was to be blamed; and in his enumeration of the offices of the Church, he says (1 Cor. xii. 28) *God hath set, first, Apostles,* not *first, St. Peter.*

THE PERPETUITY OF THE OFFICE IS FALSE.—The second assertion, that the primacy given to St. Peter was intended to continue in the Church in after ages, is generally supported by urging that such a primacy is necessary, to preserve the Unity of doctrine and discipline in the Church. But we must reject altogether the arguments of a theorist who imagines to himself a constitution of the Christian Church which he conceives to be necessary to its completeness; and on this ground asserts that such a constitution has always existed. We cannot assert anything to be necessary to the constitution of the Christian Church which Christ and his Apostles have not declared to be necessary. Nor does it appear that the primacy of the Bishop of Rome is fitted to secure, or has secured, the unity of doctrine and discipline in the Christian Church.

THE POPE'S SUCCESSION IS FALSE.—The third assertion, that the Bishop of Rome is the successor of St. Peter in the office of Head of the Church, is contrary to the early history of the Church. The Bishop of Rome was always recognised as the successor of St. Peter in his bishoprick; but the claim of a legislative and judicial power over other bishops and their sees, was never allowed till a much later period; and was never generally allowed even in those churches which agreed in doctrine with the Church of Rome. The Gallican Church, for instance, always strenuously denied the absolute authority of the Bishop of Rome as Head of the Church.

CONSTANT STRUGGLE OF THE POPE WITH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNS.—It is very natural for Christians [it was particularly so in a feudal age—ED.] to desire to see on earth a visible and organised embodiment of the Universal Church of Christ. And the defenders of the

Romish Church represent their Church as this Universal Church; having the Pope, guided on some occasions by a General Council of Bishops, for its earthly Head; and having Ecclesiastical Governors and Ministers, of various degrees and offices, acting in a regular subordination in every Christian Country. The Papacy, at an early period, usurped temporal power; and ever since, there has been a struggle between the Ecclesiastical and the Political authority, in every country into which the Romish Church has found admission. The whole history of Europe, especially from the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh, is, for the most part, the history of the War between the States of Europe and the Papacy. In England this war never ceased to agitate and torment the land, till the time of the Reformation. The struggle has, in different ages, turned upon various points, and been carried on by various means; but it has never ceased. The Pope has claimed and exercised, at various times, the right of deposing Sovereigns, of absolving subjects from their allegiance, of excluding whole nations from a participation in the ordinances and privileges of the Christian Church, of sole jurisdiction over all Ecclesiastical persons, and the like. Such claims, if allowed by States, would render the whole population of Christendom subjects of the Pope, in temporal as well as spiritual matters. But the Ecclesiastical Supremacy was no where completely established. The Sovereigns of every nation in Europe succeeded in possessing themselves, practically at least, of the greater part of the temporal authority which the Popes, in the day of the full manifestation of their system, claimed as belonging to the Head of the Church; such as the Appointment of Bishops, the Control of Ecclesiastical Revenues, the Authority of Supreme Judge, and the like. No nation was completely subjected to the Ecclesiastical Supremacy. Those nations which recognise the Pope as the Head of the Church on Earth, have still, in various degrees, asserted the liberties of their own Church; and thus made it a National Church.

Evils of Spiritual Domination.—But yet, in the degree in which spiritual domination was exercised, we see how little fit men are to be entrusted with authority of such a character. The Dignitaries of the Church,

thus placed upon a footing of equal negociation, or rivalry, with Statesmen, by no means carried into action that better morality in which we might expect religious men to excel politicians. In their political acts, they were, like other statesmen, selfish, ambitious, false, violent. Indeed, it might seem as if the absence of superior control, which belongs to unquestioned Ecclesiastical Sovereigns, tended to make men rather bad than good. Some of the most flagrantly wicked characters which history presents to our view, are the Church Dignitaries, and especially the Popes, just before the Protestant Reformation. It was made apparent that the notion of a Christian World, governed in a Christian spirit, by an Ecclesiastical Body, under an Earthly Head, is one which, from the habitual conduct of men, must always be a mere dream.

NATIONAL CHURCHES.—The experience and apprehension of the national evils belonging to the Romish System of Ecclesiastical Polity, joined with a conviction of its religious errors, led many nations of Europe to cast off its yoke, and to establish National Churches. These National Churches are members, in some sense or other, of the Universal Church of Christ; but, for the most part, they have no established extranational relations and ties; except so far as religious sympathy may be deemed to be such. They have no extranational earthly head; if they have a visible head, it is the head of the nation, the Sovereign. In such National Established Churches, the Ecclesiastical Authorities, as they are upheld by the State, derive their authority in some measure from the State; this derivation not interfering with the Spiritual Authority which they have as Ministers of the Church of Christ; and which they derive from Christ's Commission through the channel of the Spiritual Authorities of the Church.

REFORMED CHURCHES.—But the establishment of such Churches involving also a rejection of alleged abuses in doctrine and in discipline, which had arisen during the prevalence of the Papal Power, the National Churches thus established were also *Reformed Churches*. In such a Reformation, the Church established in the nation might retain its organisation, and become a member of the Universal Church of Christ more truly than it

was before, by rejecting unchristian errors and corruptions. An *established* Church, thus *reformed*, and not destroyed in its reformation, may be looked upon as a peculiar boon of Providence; this is the form of Ecclesiastical Polity which we possess in England. The Church of England retained Liturgies, and an organised Church Government by Bishops.

CONCORDATS.—It does not appear that any position of equilibrium can be found, in which the Romish Church and the National Government are balanced; or that the rights of the National Church, considered as a branch of the Roman Catholic Church, can ever be so defined as to produce a tolerable measure of tranquillity. Perhaps in countries where the government is despotic, there may be a treaty of alliance between the Roman Catholic Church and the Despotic State, by which, expressed or understood, the subjects may be retained in tranquillity; but this must be a tranquillity which excludes all Political Freedom and all Moral and Religious Progress. Where there is a movement party, its dangers and evils may be greatly augmented by its combination with a Romish Party in the same Country.

C.

EARLIER AND LATER ASPECTS OF THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND THE CIVIL POWER.

[From Dr. Arnold.*]

LAPSE OF TIME, AND CHANGE OF CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER THE CHARACTER OF A PARTY STRUGGLE.—The mere change of time and circumstances may alter the character of the same party without any change on its own part: its triumph may be at one time an evil, and at another time a good. This is owing to a truth which should never be forgotten in all political inquiries, that government is wholly relative; and that there is and can be no such thing as the best government absolutely, suited to all periods and to all countries. It is a fatal error in all political questions to mistake the clock; to fancy that it is still forenoon, when the sun is westering; that it is early morning, when the sun has already mounted high in the heavens.

AS IN THE CASE OF THAT BETWEEN THE GUELFS AND GHIBELINS.—No instance of this importance of reading the clock aright can be more instructive, than the great quarrel ordinarily known as that of the Guelfs and Ghibelins. I may remind you that these were respectively the parties which embraced the papal and the imperial cause in the struggle between these two powers in Italy and Germany from the eleventh century onwards to the fourteenth. Here, as in all other actual contests, a great variety of principles and passions and instincts, so to speak, were intermingled; we must not suppose that it was anything like a pure struggle on what may be called the distinguishing principle of the Guelf or Ghibelin cause.

* Lectures on Modern History, pp. 104—6.

LEADING PRINCIPLE OF THE CONTEST.—But the principle in itself was this; whether the papal or the imperial, in other words, the sacerdotal or the regal power, was to be accounted the greater.

SO FAR AS THE PAPACY REPRESENTED MORALITY, THE EMPIRE MERE SELFISH MIGHT, WE SHOULD SYMPATHISE WITH THE FORMER.—Now conceive the papal power to be the representative of what is moral and spiritual, and the imperial power to represent only what is external and physical; conceive the first to express the ideas of responsibility to God and paternal care and guidance, while the other was the mere embodying of selfish might, like the old Greek tyrannies; and who can do other than wish success to the papal cause? Who can help being with all his heart a Guelf?

THIS WAS, TO A GREAT EXTENT, THE CASE, DURING THE EARLIER PERIOD.—But in the early part of the struggle this was to a great degree the state of it; the pope stood in the place of the church, the emperor was a merely worldly despot, corrupt and arbitrary.

BUT LATER, THE PAPACY PERSONIFIES SUPERSTITION, AND TYRANNY; THE EMPEROR, LAW. THEN THE LATTER COMMANDS OUR SYMPATHIES.—But conceive, on the other hand, the papacy to become the representative of superstition, and of spiritual tyranny, while the imperial power was the expression and voice of law; that the emperor stood in the place of the church, and the pope was the mere priest, the church's worst enemy; and this was actually the form which the contest between the sacerdotal and regal powers assumed at a later period; then our sympathies are changed, and we become no less zealously Ghibelin than we before were Guelf. Now so far at least as the papal power was concerned, the change was not in it, but in outward circumstances. In the beginning of the dispute the papal claims were no less excessive than they became afterwards, all the notions of priestly power were to be found in them, if not fully developed yet virtually. But these claims are harmless when the church is asleep or inactive, except so far as they tend to prolong the sleep and inactivity.

THIS CHANGE AROSE FROM (1) THE IGNORANCE AND TORPOR PREVALENT IN THE CHURCH DURING THE EARLIER PART OF THE MIDDLE AGES.—Setting

aside this consideration, and supposing a state of ignorance and torpor not produced by the papacy, and likely to exist for a long time to come from other causes independent of the papacy's control, and then the papal dominion may be no more than the natural and lawful authority of mature age over childhood, of the teacher over him who needs to be taught, of those who understand what Christianity is, over those who, professing to be Christians, yet know not what their principles are.

(2) AND THE SUBSEQUENT REVIVAL OF INTELLIGENCE, SPIRITUAL VITALITY.—But so soon as the child grew up into the man, that the sleeper was awakened, the inactive roused, the Christian taught to know his privileges and his duties, then the Church being competent to do its own work, the claim of the Pope to stand in its place became impertinent, and when that claim was urged as one of divine right, for all times and circumstances, and men were required to acknowledge its validity, then, having become as useless and mischievous practically, as it was and always had been false theoretically, it was rejected as it deserved to be, and was considered amongst the greatest obstacles to truth and to goodness.

D.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF A GREAT "MOVEMENT;" TO ILLUSTRATE THE COURSE OF THE REFORMATION.

[Selected from Mr. (now Dr.) J. H. Newman.*]

VITAL IDEAS.—When an idea, whether real or not, is of a nature to interest and possess the mind, it is said to have life, that is, to live in the mind which is the recipient of it. Thus, mathematical ideas, real as they are, cannot be called living, for they have no influence and lead to nothing. But when some great enunciation, whether true or false, about human nature, or present good, or government, or duty, or religion, is carried forward into the public throng and draws attention, then it is not only passively admitted in this or that form into the minds of men, but it becomes a living principle within them, leading them to an ever new contemplation of itself, an acting upon it, and a propagation of it.

THE IDEA STRUGGLE INTO EXISTENCE.—Let one such idea get possession of the popular mind, or the mind of any set of persons, and it is not difficult to understand the effects which will ensue. There will be a general agitation of thought, and an action of mind both upon itself and upon other minds. New lights will be brought to bear upon the original idea, aspects will multiply, and judgments will accumulate. There will be a time of confusion, when conceptions and misconceptions are in conflict; and it is uncertain whether anything is to come of the idea at all, or which view of it is to get the start of the others.

* *Essay on Development*, pp. 35—39. *Ed.* 1845. The "idea," the evolution of which is here traced (as it were) *à priori*, was, of course, the dominant and all but universal conviction, that—"the Christian Church of the West required Reforming." The most influential and historically memorable phases assumed by this idea as it worked its way into action, and resulted in four Reformation schemes more or less distinct, have been alluded to in Appendix III.—ED.

BECOMES COMPLEX AND MANY-SIDED.—After a while some definite form of doctrine emerges; and as time proceeds, one view of it will be modified or expanded by another, and then, combined with a third, till the idea in which they centre will be to each mind separately what at first it was only to all together.

ENTERS INTO RELATIONS WITH OTHER SYSTEMS.—It will be surveyed, too, in its relation to other doctrines or facts, to other natural laws or established rules, to the varying circumstances of times and places, to other religions, polities, philosophies, as the case may be. How it stands affected towards other systems, how it affects them, how far it coalesces with them, how far it tolerates, when it interferes with them, will be gradually wrought out. It will be questioned and criticised by enemies, and explained by well-wishers. The multitude of opinions formed concerning it, in these respects and many others, will be collected, compared, sorted, sifted, selected, or rejected, and gradually attached to it, or separated from it, in the minds of individuals, and of the community. It will, in proportion to its native vigour and subtlety, introduce itself into the framework and details of social life, changing public opinion and supporting or undermining the foundations of established order.

BECOMES ITSELF A SYSTEM.—Thus in time it has grown into an ethical code, or into a system of government, or into a theology, or into a ritual, according to its capabilities; and this system, or body of thought, theoretical and practical, thus laboriously gained, will after all be only the adequate representation of the original idea, being nothing else than what that very idea *meant* from the first,—its exact image as seen in a combination of the most diversified aspects, with the suggestions and corrections of many minds, and the illustration of many trials.

THIS PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT IMPLIES MORE OR LESS OF ANTAGONISM WITH PREVIOUS FORMS OF THOUGHT AND LIFE.—This process is called the development of an idea, being the germination, growth, and perfection of some living, that is, influential truth, or apparent truth, in the minds of men during a sufficient period. And it has this necessary characteristic,—that, since its province is the busy scene of human life, it

cannot develope at all, except either by destroying, or modifying and incorporating with itself, existing modes of thinking and acting. Its development then is not like a mathematical theorem worked out on paper, in which each successive advance is a pure evolution from a foregoing, but it is carried on through individuals and bodies of men; it employs their minds as instruments, and depends upon them while it uses them. And so as regards their existing opinions, principles, measures, and institutions, it developes in establishing relations between them and itself, in giving them a meaning, in creating what may be called a jurisdiction over them, in throwing off from itself what is utterly heterogeneous in them. It grows when it incorporates; and its purity consists, not in isolation, but in its continuity and sovereignty. This it is which imparts to the history both of states and of religions its especially turbulent or polemical character. Such is the explanation of the wranglings whether of Schools or of Parliaments. It is the warfare of ideas, striving for the mastery, each of them enterprising, engrossing, imperious, more or less incompatible with the rest, and rallying followers or rousing foes according as it acts upon the faith, the prejudices, or the interests of individuals.

IT IS INFLUENCED, AND MAY BE CORRUPTED, BY PREVIOUS AND COLLATERAL CIRCUMSTANCES.—Moreover, an idea not only modifies, but, as has been implied, is modified, or at least influenced by the state of things in which it is carried out, and depends in various ways on the circumstances around it. Its development proceeds quickly or slowly; the order of succession in its separate stages is irregular; it will show differently in a small sphere of action and in an extended; it may be interrupted, retarded, mutilated, distorted, by external violence; it may be enfeebled by the effort of ridding itself of domestic foes; it may be impeded and swayed, or even absorbed by counter energetic ideas; it may be coloured by the received tone of thought into which it comes, or depraved by the intrusion of foreign principles, or at length shattered by the development of some original fault within it.

STILL IT MUST ENDURE THIS TRIAL, IF IT IS TO LIVE ITS FULL LIFE.—But, whatever be the risk of

corruption from intercourse with the world around it, such a risk must be undergone, if it is duly to be understood, and much more if it is to be fully exhibited. It is elicited by trial, and struggles into perfection. Nor does it escape the collision of opinion even in its earlier years; nor does it remain truer to itself, and more one and the same, though protected from vicissitude and change. It is indeed sometimes said that the stream is clearest near the spring. Whatever use may fairly be made of this image, it does not apply to the history of a philosophy or sect, which, on the contrary, is more equable, and purer, and stronger, when its bed has become deep, and broad, and full. It necessarily rises out of an existing state of things, and, for a time, savours of the soil.

FOR IT MUST VINDICATE ITS INDEPENDENCE AND MATURE ITS CHARACTER, THROUGH TRIAL.—Its vital element needs disengaging from what is foreign and temporary, and is employed in efforts after freedom, more vigorous and hopeful as its years increase. Its beginnings are no measure of its capabilities, nor of its scope. At first, no one knows what it is, or what it is worth. It remains perhaps for a time quiescent: it tries, as it were, its limbs, and proves the ground under it, and feels its way. From time to time, it makes essays which fail, and are in consequence abandoned. It seems in suspense which way to go; it wavers, and at length strikes out in one definite direction. In time it enters upon strange territory; points of controversy alter their bearing; parties rise and fall about it; dangers and hopes appear in new relations, and old principles reappear under new forms; it changes with them in order to remain the same. In a higher world it is otherwise; but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often.

E

ON THE SEPARATION FROM ROME.

[Condensed from Abp. Bramhall.*]

THE BRITANNIC CHURCHES WERE EXEMPTED FROM FOREIGN JURISDICTION FOR THE FIRST 600 YEARS.—The ancient British, and Scottish, or Irish Churches were ever exempted from the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman Bishops, until Rome, thirsting after an universal unlawful monarchy, quitted her lawful ecclesiastical power; and so ought to continue free and exempted from all foreign jurisdiction of any pretended Patriarch for evermore, according to the famous Canon of the General Council of Ephesus, which Gregory the Great reverenced as one of the Four Gospels.

THE PROOF IN THIS CAUSE OUGHT TO REST UPON OUR ADVERSARIES.—In this controversy, by law, the burden of the proof ought to rest upon them, who affirm a right, and challenge a jurisdiction; not upon us who deny it. Men are not put to prove negatives. Let them produce their registers, and show for the first 600 years what ecclesiastical Courts the Roman Bishops or their legates have held in Britain, what causes they have removed from thence to Rome upon appeals, what sentences given in Britain they have repealed there, what British subjects they have excommunicated, or summoned to appear at Rome; let them show what Bishoprics they have conferred in Britain in those days, what British Bishops did then entitle themselves to their Bishoprics "by the grace of God and of the Apostolic See;" let them declare to the world how many of our British Primates have constantly, or at all, repaired to Rome to be ordained, or have received licenses or dispensations thence for their ordination at home, or elsewhere. If they

* A Just Vindication of the Church of England, &c., vol I. pp. 97—272. *Ed. Oxon.*

can say nothing to any of these points, they may disclaim their Patriarchal right in Britain, and hold their peace for ever.

IT IS NO MARVEL THAT THE POPE WINDED HIMSELF INTO ENGLAND BY DEGREES.—It is not to be doubted of, but that after the year 600, after that Pope Boniface had quitted his Patriarchal dignity by assuming a more lofty title of universal Bishop, the succeeding Popes by the connivance, leave, or consent of our Kings, did sometimes more, sometimes less, upon pretence of their universal jurisdiction, by degrees thrust in their sickle into the ecclesiastical affairs of England. Whosoever shall ponder duly with what a depth of prudence the Roman Court hath managed all occasions and occurrences to the advantage and improvement of that See, and consequently to the improvement of their own authority;—with what art and cunning the Papacy (as it now is) was tacked into the Church contrary to wind and weather, and how their "beginning of unity" was screwed up to an omnipotence, and universality of power; will not wonder to observe, how they did watch their time, when we had princes of weak judgments, or necessitous, or superstitious, or of unjust or litigious titles, to wind themselves into Britain. Nay, rather he will admire, that they did not radicate themselves more deeply and more firmly therein; which without doubt they had effected, but for their exorbitant rapines. But this intrusion was manifest usurpation and tyranny; this was the gangrene of the Church, which no subsequent possession or submission could warrant, no tract of time or prescription sufficiently confirm.

THE SOVEREIGNTY OF OUR KINGS IN ECCLESIASTICAL CAUSES OVER ECCELSIASTICAL PERSONS.—Thus the Popes in later times had some power in England, of courtesy, not of duty, but never that omnipotence which they gaped after. For, our kings from time to time called Councils, made ecclesiastical laws, punished ecclesiastical persons, and saw that they did their duties in their callings, prohibited ecclesiastical judges to proceed, received appeals from ecclesiastical Courts, rejected the laws of the Pope at their pleasure, or gave legislative interpretations of them as they thought good, made ecclesiastical corporations, appropriated benefices, translated

Episcopal Sees, forbade appeals to Rome, rejected the Pope's Bulls, protested against his legates, questioned both the legates themselves, and all those who acknowledge them, condemned the excommunications and other sentences of the Roman Court, would not permit a peer, or baron of the realm, to be excommunicated without their consents, enjoyed the patronage of Bishopries and the investitures of Bishops, enlarged or restrained the privilege of clergy, prescribed the endowment of vicars, set down the wages of priests, and made Acts to remedy the oppressions of the Court of Rome.

KING HENRY VIII. DID NO MORE THAN HIS PREDECESSORS?—What did King Henry VIII. in effect more than this? This only was the difference, that they endeavored to draw the people out of the Pope's claws at home, and he thought it more expedient to throw the Pope over the British sea once for altogether. He forbade all suits to the Court of Rome by proclamation; divers statutes did the same. He excluded the Pope's Legates; so did the law of the land, without the king's special license. He forbade appeals to Rome; so did his predecessors many ages before him. He took away the Pope's dispensations; what did he in that but restore the English Bishops to their ancient right, and the laws of the country with the canons of the Fathers to their vigor? He challenged and assumed a political supremacy over ecclesiastical persons in ecclesiastical causes; so did Edward the Confessor "govern the Church as the Vicar of God in his own kingdom"; so did his predecessors hold their crowns as "immediately subjected to God, not subjected to the Pope." On the other side, the Pope by our English laws, could neither reward freely, nor punish freely, neither whom, nor where, nor when, he thought fit, but by the consent or connivance of the State. He could neither do justice in England without controlment, nor call Englishmen to Rome without the king's license. Here is small appearance of a good legal prescription, nor any pregnant signs of any sovereign power and jurisdiction by undoubted right and so evident uncontroverted a title as is pretended.

THE KING HAD SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO WITHDRAW OBEDIENCE FROM ROME.—The king or supreme senate of every kingdom or commonwealth have power to

make laws and statutes, by which, either directly, or at least indirectly, as well the clergy as the laity of that kingdom or commonwealth, are bound to reject all foreign jurisdiction, superiority, and dependence; and this legislative power is essentially annexed to every kingdom and commonwealth, seeing that otherwise they cannot prevent those dangers which may spring and issue from that fountain to their destruction and ruin. If the Pope had been the king of England's subject, as former Popes were the Emperors,' he might have served him as they did some of his predecessors; called a Council, regulated him, and reduced him to order and reason; or, if he proved incorrigible, have deposed him. But the Pope being a stranger, all that he could justly do, was what he did, rather than to see his royal prerogative daily trampled upon, his laws destroyed, his subjects oppressed; rather than to have new articles of Faith daily obtruded upon the English Church; rather than to incur the peril of wilful idolatry:—to cashier the Roman Court, with all their pardons and indulgences and other alchymistical devices, out of his kingdoms; until time should teach them to content themselves with moderate things, which endure long; or until either a Free Œcumenical Council, or an European Synod, should settle controversies, and tune the jarring strings of the Christian world. In the mean time we pity their errors, pray for their amendment, and long for a reunion.

THE KING AND CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAD SUFFICIENT GROUNDS TO WITHDRAW OBEDIENCE FROM ROME.—The grounds of separation were many:—

1. *The intolerable extortions and excessive rapine of the Court of Rome*, committed in that realm by their legates and nuncios and commissioners and collectors and other inferior officers and harpies, enough to empoverish the kingdom, and to drain out of it all the treasure that was in it, and leave it as bare as a grasshopper in winter, by their indulgences and pardons for all kind of sin at a certain rate registered in their penitentiary tax. To these we may add their dispensations of all sorts, and commutations, and absolutions, and contributions, and reservations, and tenths, and first fruits, and appeals, and palls: and a thousand other artifices to get money; as provisions, collations, exemptions, canonisations, divolutions,

revocations, unions; commendams, tolerations, pilgrimages, jubilees.

2. *The unjust usurpations, and violations of all sorts of rights by the Roman Court.—(a)* They endeavored to rob the *king* of the fairest flowers of his crown: as of his right to convocate Synods, within his own dominions; of his legislative and judiciary power in ecclesiastical causes; of his political jurisdiction over ecclesiastical persons; of his ecclesiastical feuds and investitures of Bishops; of his just patronages of Churches founded by his ancestors; and of the last appeals of his subjects. Neither is this the case of England alone:—to say nothing now of that dominion, which some of them have challenged indirectly, others directly, over sovereign princes.

(b.) They robbed the *nobility* of their patronages, those churches which their ancestors had founded and endowed, being by provisions from Rome frequently conferred upon strangers, which could not speak one word of English, nor did ever tread upon English ground; insomuch that at one time there were so many Italians beneficed in England, that they received more money yearly out of it than all the revenues of the Crown, to the high disservice of Almighty God, the great scandal of religion, the decay of hospitality, and the utter ruin of the English Church.

(c) But the least share of their oppressions did not light upon the *Bishops*, who by their dispensations, and reservations of cases, and of pensions, and exemptions, and inhibitions, and visitations, and tenths, and first fruits, and provisions, and subsidiary helps were impoverished and disabled to do the duties of their function. They take their aim much amiss who look upon Episcopacy as a branch of Popery, or a device of the Bishop of Rome to advance his own greatness. Whereas the contrary is most certain, that the Pope is the greatest impugner of Bishops, and the Papacy itself sprung from the unjust usurpation of their just rights.

(d.) Lastly, they cheated and impoverished the *people* by their dispensations, and commutations, and pardons, and indulgences, and expeditions to recover the Holy Land, and jubilees, and pilgrimages, and *Agnus Deis*, and a thousand pecuniary artifices, so as no sort of men escaped their fingers.

3. *Such foreign jurisdiction was found to be destructive to the right ends of ecclesiastical discipline,* which is in part to preserve public peace and tranquillity, to retain subjects in due obedience, and to oblige people to do their duties more conscientiously. Far be it from any Christian to imagine that policy is the spring head of religion. But, where religion hath lost its influence and vigour by contempt, and much more where the influence of religion is malignant, where policy and religion do not support one another; but interfere one with another; societies are like castles builded in the air, without any firm foundation, and cannot long endure. So great an influence hath religion upon the body politic. Wherefore our ancestors, having seen by long and costly experience, that the tyrannical jurisdiction of the Roman Court, instead of peace and tranquillity, did produce disunion in the realm,—factions and animosities between the crown and the mitre, intestine discord between the king and his barons, bad intelligence with neighbour princes, and foreign wars; having seen English rebels canonised at Rome and made Saints; it was no marvel if they thought it high time to free themselves from such a chargeable and dangerous guest.

4. *The Pope's challenge of a spiritual monarchy by divine right.*—Lastly: they saw that the Popes had disclaimed all that just power which they had by human right, and challenged to themselves a spiritual monarchy or sovereignty by divine right; whereby their [*i. e.* our ancestors'] sufferings, which in themselves were unsupportable, were made also irremediable from thence[forth]. Wherefore they sought out a fit expedient for themselves, being neither ignorant of their old Britannic exemption and liberties of the English Church, nor yet of the weakness of the Roman pretences. Our progenitors knew well enough that their authority extended not to take away any the least particle of divine right, if there had been any such. Nor could they justly be accused of violating that human right, which had been quitted long before; nor be blamed rightly for denying obedience to him, from whose jurisdiction they were exempted by the Canon of an Œcumenical Council, and who had himself implicitly renounced that Ecclesias-

tical right [the Patriarchal, namely] which we held from the Church. •

ENGLISH MODE OF PROCEEDING NOT TOO HASTY. —Perhaps some may conceive a defect in the manner of proceeding of the King and Church of England,—that they did not first make a remonstrance of their grievances, and seek redress of the Pope himself. To this I answer;—

1. That it had been reasonable and just indeed, that we had made our first address to the Pope, if we acknowledged the Roman Bishop to be our lawful Patriarch; but the same respect is not due to an usurper.

2. We have seen by frequent experience, how vain and fruitless such addresses have proved from time to time. After many others, Edward the Third made his addresses to Rome, for remedy of grievances. How did he speed? No better than his great-grandfather Henry III. The Pope was offended, and termed his modest expostulation "rebellion." But that wise and magnanimous prince was not daunted with words; to requite their invectives, he made his statutes of Provisors and *Præmunire*, directly against the encroachments and usurpations of the Court of Rome.

3. King Henry VIII. himself had been long a suitor unto Clement VII. to have his predecessor Julius II.'s dispensation for his marriage with his brother's wife to be declared void. But, though the Pope's own Doctors and Universities had declared the dispensation to be unlawful and invalid; and although the Pope himself had once given forth a Bull privately to his legate Cardinal Campeius for the revocation thereof, wherein he declared the marriage to be null, and that the king could not continue in it without sin; yet the king found so little respect either to the condition of his person, or to the justice of his cause, that, after long delays, to try if he could be allured to the Pope's will, in the conclusion he received a flat denial.* This was no great encouragement to him to make any more addresses to Rome. So what was threatened and effected in part in the days of Henry III. and Edward III., was perfected in the reign of

* The "flat denial" really came after the commencement of the onslaught upon the Papal Supremacy. It was rather the indecision than the adverse decision of the Roman Court that immediately occasioned the passing of Henry VIII.'s Antipapal measures.—ED.

Henry VIII.; when the jurisdiction of the Court of Rome was abolished. The former kings might properly be called the first reformers; and their laws of Provisors and *Præmunires* or more properly *Præmoneres* the beginning of the Reformation. They laid the foundation, and Henry VIII. builded upon it.

THE ENGLISH REFORMERS OBSERVED DUE MODERATION IN THE MANNER OF THEIR SEPARATION.—1. They did not, we do not, deny the being of any Church whatsoever, Roman or other, nor possibility of salvation in them, especially such as hold firmly the Apostles' Creed, and the Faith of the four first General Councils; though their salvation be rendered much more difficult by human inventions and obstructions. We do indeed require subscription to our Articles, but it is only from them who are our own, not from strangers; nor yet of all our own, but only of those who seek to be initiated into Holy Orders, or are to be admitted to some ecclesiastical preferment. So it is in every man's election whether he will put himself upon a necessity of subscription or not. We damn none for dissenting from us; we do not separate ourselves from other Churches unless they chase us away with their censures, but only from their errors. For clear manifestation whereof, observe the thirtieth Canon of our Church—"It was so far from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practiced, &c. that it only departed from them in those particular points wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the Apostolical Churches, which were their first founders." So moderate are we towards all Christians, whether foreigners or domestics, whether whole Churches or single persons.

2. As our separation is from their errors, not from their Churches, so we do it with as much inward charity and moderation of our affections, as we can possibly; willingly indeed in respect of their errors, and especially their tyrannical exactions and usurpations, but unwillingly and with reluctation in respect of their persons; and much more in respect of our common Saviour; as if we were to depart from our father's, or our brother's house; or rather from some contagious sickness wherewith it

was infected; not forgetting to pray God daily to restore them to their former purity, that they and we may once again enjoy the comfort and contentment of one another's Christian society.

3. *We do not arrogate to ourselves either a new Church, or a new religion, or new Holy Orders,* for then we must produce new miracles, new revelations, new cloven tongues, for our justification. Our religion is the same it was, our Church the same it was, our Holy Orders the same they were, in substance; differing only from what they were formerly, as a garden weeded from a garden unweeded; or a body purged, from itself before it was purged. And therefore, as we presume not to make new articles of Faith, much less to obtrude such innovations upon others, so we are not willing to receive them from others, or to mingle scholastical opinions with fundamental truths,

4. Lastly, we are ready to believe and practise, whatsoever the Catholic Church (even of this present age) doth universally and unanimously believe and practice. And though it be neither lawful nor possible for us to hold actual communion with all sorts of Christians in all things, wherein they vary both from the truth and one from another, and yet even in those things we hold a communion with them "in our desires," longing for their conversion and reunion with us in truth.

THE CHURCH, OR RATHER THE POPE AND COURT OF ROME ARE CAUSALLY GUILTY OF THIS, AND ALMOST ALL OTHER SCHISMS IN THE CHURCH.

1. *By seeking to usurp a higher place and power in the body ecclesiastical, than of right is due to them.* They make the Church of Rome to be not only the sister of all other Patriarchal Churches, and the "Mother of many Churches," but to be the "Lady and Mistress of all Churches;"—to be not only a prime stone in the building, but the very foundation, and that an absolute foundation, for all persons, in all places, at all times. In all which claim they understand not the "essential" nor yet the "representative" Church—a Roman Synod, but the "virtual" Church, that is, the Pope with his Cardinals and Ministers.

2. *By obtruding new Creeds and new Articles of Faith,* and especially this doctrine, that it is necessary for every

Christian under pain of damnation to be subject to the Bishop of Rome, as the Vicar of Christ by divine ordination upon earth (that is, in effect, to be subject to themselves who are his council and officers), and *by their tyrannical and uncharitable censures*,—the Court of Rome have separated all the Asiatic, African, Grecian, Russian, and Protestant, Churches from their communion; not only negatively, by withdrawing of themselves for fear of infection, but by way of jurisdiction, excluding them (so much as in them lieth) from the communion of Christ; only because they will not strike topsail to the Pope's cross-keys, nor buy indulgences and such like trinkets at Rome.

3. *By rebelling against General Councils.*—The Bishops of Rome have exempted themselves and their Court from the jurisdiction of an Œcumenical Council, the representative of the Catholic Church, and the last visible judge of controversies, and the supreme Ecclesiastical Court; and made themselves sovereign monarchs and Universal Bishops—"to the wrong of the Church and renting it in pieces" (Greg. Mag. Epist. L. x. Ep. 68), making themselves to be not only "fathers" but "masters (i. e. teachers "*doctores*"—Ed.) of all Christians"—it is the Pope's own expression in his letter to his legate;—contrary to their former professions of obedience to the ecclesiastical constitutions of sovereign princes and synods; contrary to their own laws; contrary to so many appellations from them by Christian princes, prelates and universities; contrary to the judgment of almost all the Cisalpine Prelates assembled at Trent; contrary to the decrees of so many councils both general and provincial, which have limited their jurisdiction &c.—have deposed them by two or three at a time, whereof one was undoubtedly the true Pope: but especially contrary to the Councils of Constance and Basle, which have decreed expressly, that "the Pope is subject to a general Council, as well in matter of faith, as of manners; so as he may not only be corrected, but, if he be incorrigible, be deposed." This is determined in the Council of Constance; and confirmed in the Council of Basle, with this addition, that "whosoever opposeth this truth pertenaciously, is to be reputed a heretic."

4. *By ignoring Episcopacy except as emanating from the Roman See.*—Though the Popes do not abolish the order of Bishops, yet they make all episcopal jurisdiction to flow from them, and to be founded in the Pope's laws; because it was but delegated to the rest of the Apostles for term of life, but resided solely in St. Peter as an ordinary, to descend from him to his successors Bishops of Rome, and to be imparted by them to other Bishops as their vicars or coadjutors, assumed by them into some part of their charge. What is this but to trample upon Episcopacy, and to make them (i. e. other Bishops than the Pope—Ed.) equivocal Bishops; to dissolve the primitive bonds of brotherly unity, to overthrow the discipline instituted by Christ, and to take away the line of apostolical succession?

5. *By challenging two other novelties,* destructive to Christian unity:—

(a.) Infallibility of judgment:—General and Provincial Councils are the proper remedies of schism. But this challenge of infallibility diminisheth their authority, discrediteth their definitions, and maketh them to be superfluous things. What needs so much expense? so many consultations? so much travel of so many poor old fallible Bishops from all the quarters of the world? when there is an infallible judge at Rome, that can determine all questions in his own conclave, without danger of error.

(b.) Temporal power, direct or indirect, over Princes.—Their other challenge of temporal power, whether directly or indirectly and "*in ordine ad spiritualia,*" cannot choose but render all Christians, especially sovereign princes, jealous and suspicious of their power, and averse from the communion of those persons, who maintain so dangerous positions so destructive to their propriety. The power of the keys doth not extend itself to any secular rights, neither can ecclesiastical censures alter or invalidate the laws of God and nature, or the municipal laws of a land; all which do enjoin the obedience of children to their parents and of subjects to their sovereigns. Gregory the Seventh began this practice against Henry the Fourth. But what Gregory did bind upon earth, God Almighty did not bind in Heaven. His papal blessing turned to a curse; and instead of an im-

perial crown, Rodolph found the just reward of his treason.

INDEFINITENESS OF THESE CLAIMS.—The best is, that they who give these exorbitant privileges to Popes, do it with so many cautions and reservations, that they signify nothing, and may be taken away with as much ease as they are given.

The Pope (say they) is infallible, not in his chamber, but in his chair; not in the premises, but in the conclusion; not in conclusions of matter of fact, but in conclusions of matter of faith; not always in all conclusions of matter of faith, but only when he useth the right means and due diligence. And who knoweth when he doth that? So every Christian is infallible, if he would and could keep himself to the infallible rule which God hath given him: "Take nothing and hold it fast."

So likewise for his temporal power over princes; they say the Pope, not as Pope, but as a spiritual prince, hath a certain kind of power, temporal, but not merely temporal; not directly, but indirectly and in order to spiritual things.

"Quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo."

BISHOPS OF THE ENGLISH REFORMED CHURCH DERIVE NO SPIRITUAL JURISDICTION FROM THE CROWN.—We draw not nor derive any *spiritual* jurisdiction from the Crown; but either liberty and power to exercise, actually and lawfully, upon the subjects of the Crown, that habitual jurisdiction which we received at our ordination; or the enlargement and dilatation of our jurisdiction objectively, by the prince's referring more causes to the cognisance of the Church than formerly it had; or lastly, the increase of it subjectively, by their giving to ecclesiastical judges an external coercive power which formerly they had not. To go yet one step higher; in cases that are indeed spiritual or merely ecclesiastical, such as concern the doctrine of faith, or administration of the Sacraments, or the ordaining or degrading of ecclesiastical persons, sovereign princes have (and have only) an "architectonical" power to see that clergymen do their duties in their proper places. But this power is always most properly exercised by the advice and ministry of ecclesiastical persons; and sometimes necessarily, as in the degradation of one in Holy Orders, by

ecclesiastical delegates. Therefore our law provides, that nothing shall be judged heresy with us *de novo*, but "by the High Court of Parliament" (wherein our Bishops did always bear a part), "with the assent" (that is more than advice) of the clergy in their Convocation [1 Eliz. i. 36.] In sum;—we hold our benefices from the king, but our offices from Christ: the king doth nominate us, but Bishops do ordain us.

F.

INTERACTION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND, AS MODIFIED BY THE REFORMATION.

[Selected from Hardwick.*]

OPPOSITION TO PAPAL—INVOLVED THE DANGER OF ROYAL—ENCROACHMENT.—In all countries that threw off the Roman yoke, there was at first some vacillation and uncertainty respecting the minister of ordination, the court of ultimate appeal in spiritual matters, and the general constitution of the Church.† Whereas the former tendency had been to raise the hierarchy above the jurisdiction of the Crown, the present by the natural vehemence of reaction was to render the secular principle itself predominant, and make the clergyman ascribe his status either to the pleasure of the sovereign, or the vote of parliaments and diets. Misgivings were accordingly expressed in some quarters lest a regal or imperial papacy should be substituted for the ancient thraldom, lest the banishment of Romanism should clear a way for the ascendency of Byzantinism,‡ and lest the Church itself should be resolved into a function or department of the State.

* *Church History. Reformation Period* 1856. pp. 355—369.

† "The notions of many of the Reformers, at an early period of their progress, were extremely confused, owing to their having been so long accustomed to identify the validity of all spiritual functions in the clerical order, with the pretensions of the Roman See."—Russell's *Church in Scotland*, I. 105.

‡ The term "Byzantinism" is preferable to the modern "Erastianism"—an appellation derived from the Græcised form of Lieber's name. His main principle was that the source of all pastoral authority is the Civil Magistrate, who, whether Christian or not, possesses an inherent right to nominate and commission teachers of religion, and is under no necessity of admitting the least difference between priests and laymen. In "Byzantinism," on the contrary, the king was invested with almost spiritual functions, *because* he was a Christian, standing to the Church in the same relation as David, Hezekiah, or Josiah stood to the Jewish theocracy of old.

IN ENGLAND.—The special circumstances under which the English Reformation started were likely to evolve and strengthen these Byzantine tendencies; and some examples have, in fact, been noticed of the way in which they left an impress on the proclamations of the sovereign and the statutes of the realm.

ENGLISH HIERARCHY PRESERVED.—In that country, however, as the old episcopal organisation was preserved inviolate, the succession of ministers was also uninterrupted, and the spiritualty continued to form a separate estate. Parker was felt to occupy substantially the same position as Warham, and hierarchical ideas were thus transmitted, with few modifications, from the mediæval to the modern Church of England. The primates, in conjunction with their comprovincials, were still centres of ecclesiastical order.

CANON LAW AND CHURCH COURTS.—The old canon law, except in those particulars where it had been traversed by recent enactments, was and is the standard according to which proceedings in the Church Courts are regulated; and, indeed, the sole material change affecting the internal polity of the Church related to appeals from the metropolitan tribunals, which could no longer be carried out of the island to the Roman pontiff, but must pass directly upwards to the king, who, by his delegates, had now the privilege of final adjudication.

INCREASE OF ROYAL POWER BY ABOLITION OF APPEALS TO ROME.—This peculiarity, although by no means unprecedented in the earlier history of the Church, must have materially influenced the position of the English Ecclesiastics, and their relation to the civil power. It was subversive of a state of things in which the clerks and priesthood generally had, more or less, been severed and exempted from the common laws of the realm, in which a foreign jurisdiction was allowed to overrule the sentence of the home-tribunals, and various usages and maxims were tolerated "in derogation of the regality of our lord the king." Yet where civil and ecclesiastical courts existed side by side, where secular and spiritual judges were both recognised, there is always a large class of mixed questions in which the two authorities touch, and interpenetrate in such a manner,

that it is not easy to prevent them from usurping one upon the other. This was felt especially at the period of the Reformation, when the fresh resistance of English monarchs to the ultra-papal usurpations involved, among its natural consequences, the depreciation of all branches of ecclesiastical power.

ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY OF THE CROWN.—The Sovereign who repudiated the verdicts of the Roman See, gave utterance to his vehement antagonism by assuming to himself the designation "Head of the Church":—a title, in the propriety of which, when somewhat modified, his subjects, both the spiritualty and temporalty, were finally induced to acquiesce. But the limits of this headship were not rigorously defined. The clergy, in particular, viewed it chiefly as a claim to the external government, or direction, of all orders, both in Church and State. This qualification they secured by introducing the clause, "as far as the law of Christ allows," into the form by which they recognised the king's supremacy; and when Elizabeth ascended the throne, she was immediately induced to publish an Injunction explanatory of the sense in which men swore allegiance to the sovereign as the "Supreme *Governor*" of the Church of England.

AS ASSERTED BY ELIZABETH.—She there claims no more than the authority "which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall, or ought to have, any superiority over them."

AND BY THE ARTICLES.—And one of the Articles of Religion intended, in like manner, to satisfy "the minds of some slanderous folks," declares that "we give not our Princes the ministering either of God's Word or of the Sacraments,.... but that only prerogative which we see to have been always given to all godly princes, in Holy Scripture, by God Himself: that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers."

PRACTICAL EXERCISE OF ROYAL SUPREMACY BY THE TUDORS, IN SUBSTANCE, NOT NOVEL.—In some

particular branches, it is true, the powers now [*i. e.* during the Reformation period, Ed.] exercised by English monarchs threatened to exceed those privileges which had been claimed by Christian princes and parliaments during the Middle Ages; but, in substance, nearly all the changes now enacted were restorations of the ancient laws and usage of the Church, and the legitimate consequence of protests which had scarcely ever died away in any part of Christendom. The placing of ecclesiastics had, *e. g.* been the immemorial right and privilege of the crown.* The nomination of the leading Bishops by the Court had also been virtually an act of royal patronage ever since the reign of Constantine; and after the Pope began to lavish the Bishoprics and other benefices of the country on "aliens," the freedom of episcopal elections was still further violated by the English monarchs; while, in reference to the ultimate determination of Church-doctrine, there was no lack of precedents in which it was devolved by sovereigns on committees of divines who had been called together by a royal writ.

Appointment of Bishops.—In the election and confirmation of Bishops, while canonical forms were seemingly retained with all their old precision, the appointment of the English prelates was in reality transferred entirely to the crown. On the occasion of a vacancy, it was enacted in 1533, that the king might grant to Deans and Chapters of Cathedral Churches a license under the great seal, "as of old time hath been accustomed," empowering them to proceed to an election in due form; yet this was uniformly accompanied by a letter missive containing the name of the person whom alone they should elect; their only alternative being to incur the penalties of the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. The election was then signified to the Archbishop by "letter patents," requiring and commanding him to con-

* Hence Archbishop Chichely could speak to Henry V. of "The Chirch of your lond, of the wich God and ye, gracious lord, have maked me governor."—Archbishop Laud inculcates the same principle: "Our being Bishops *jure divino* takes nothing from the king's right or power over us. For though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet may we not *exercise* that power, either of order or jurisdiction, but as God has appointed us; that is, not in his Majesty's or any Christian king's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the king given us so to do."

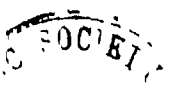
firm the choice that had been made, and to invest and consecrate the person so elected, and "to give and use to him all such benedictions, ceremonies, and other things requisite for the same, without any suing, procuring, and obtaining, any bulls, letters, or other things, from the see of Rome." On the accession of Edward, a further change was made, but subsequently abandoned.

CALLING OF COUNCILS.—Another point on which the civil and ecclesiastical authorities had always been divided, was the right of convening synods, and the operation of the laws and canons there enacted and promulged. In England, it had long been customary for individual Bishops to meet in synod with the clergy of their diocese, and for Archbishops to convoke provincial councils at their pleasure; while the king himself, by special mandate, could assemble both the provinces, and make them constitute a synod of the whole nation. In 1533 important modifications were introduced into the system of the Church with reference to these questions.

CONVOCATION.—Diocesan synods remained exactly on ancient footing; but the English "Convocations" or provincial synods, were no longer permitted to meet and legislate until the metropolitan who summoned them was armed with a specific authority from the Crown; while legal force was given to none of their constitutions, *in foro exteriori*, until a second, or confirmatory license, was obtained from the same quarter. Notwithstanding, it is manifest, from the whole course of procedure in the Reformation-movement, that enactments of this kind were never intended to supersede the Councils of the Church, nor to transfer the right of judging, in religious controversies, to the secular tribunals. The object of that policy was to draw men's thoughts completely from the See of Rome, to satisfy the monarch that the English clergy were more than "half his subjects," and to establish the competency of domestic judicatures, in spiritual as in temporal matters.

PERMANENCE OF SYNODAL ACTION.—Accordingly, when the papal yoke was utterly broken off, with their own formal co-operation, there was no jealousy expressed with reference to the action of the Church-legislature, and no disposition to invoke the help of other than ecclesiastics in deciding questions of Christian doctrine.

The first series of Articles drawn up to establish unity, was submitted to the Southern Convocation, and also carried with it the formal sanction of the northern prelates. And when, in 1540, it was thought desirable to compile a book containing the "principal articles and points of our faith, with the declaration of other expedient points, and also for the lawful rights and ceremonies and observations of God's service within this realm," the work was to be executed by "the Archbishops and sundry Bishops of both provinces, and also a great number of the best learned, honestest, and most virtuous sort of the doctors of divinity." Directions for the purging and remodelling of the ancient service books proceeded from the Southern Convocation, with the acquiescence of the crown. To this body the work was finally submitted for their approbation. The Articles of Religion were, in like manner authorised, and afterwards revised by them, and therefore the document was entitled "Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation": while at the very opening of the seventeenth century, the principle of synodal action was reaffirmed in the most emphatic manner. The 139th of the Canons of 1603, which form the standard of ecclesiastical law in dealing with all persons over whom the Church-courts exercise their ancient jurisdiction, determines, under a penalty of excommunication, that the sacred Synod of this country, "in the name of Christ and by the King's authority assembled, is the true Church of England by representation"; and the last Canon strongly censures all "depravers of the Synod" as then congregated.



APPENDIX III.

ON THE

PRINCIPLES AND METHOD

OF

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

[*The following Essay has already appeared in the "Bombay Quarterly Review."*]

PRINCIPLES AND METHOD

OF

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.

[BY THE EDITOR.]

THE REFORMATION THE CHARACTERISTIC EVENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.—The Reformation was the great work of the Sixteenth Century. It far transcended indeed the limits of that age. It was the inevitable result of a state of things long antecedent to its actual ebullition. Its direct or indirect influence upon the character and fortunes of our race will be distinctly traceable to the end of time. And in a far more limited point of view,—looking only to the immediate series of transactions, occasionally at least, included under the name—the Reformation was hardly complete by the year 1600. The Century that had witnessed its birth closed amidst the convulsive struggles that in its maturity it had evoked. It had still to accomplish triumphs, sustain defeats, run out into excesses, endure the renewed trial of persecution from its enemies, and the more cruel danger of division and strife among its friends. But few of its later incidents were without their counterpart in the preceding period. And its great battle for existence had been fought out, not only on the theatre of the world at large, but in the separate States of Europe. It had already disclosed incontrovertibly its general

character and tendencies. It had asserted its position as one of the great and abiding agencies in modern society, one of the most powerful levers of modern civilisation. On the whole, the Reformation may be considered not only to have arisen, but to have culminated, during the sixteenth century.

ITS GENERAL AIM AND STANDARD, AS A RELIGIOUS CHANGE.—Its ostensible and most familiar character is that of a revolution in religion. And in this point of view it had a general aim :—to remove from the Church and the theology of Western Christendom the accretions and parasitical outgrowths of the Middle Ages, and to restore them (as far as might be) to their pristine simplicity and purity.

And to a certain extent it had a general standard —the Bible—as the authorised and universally accredited account of Christianity from its origin.

So far the Reformation was one movement. But it was also several.

DIVERSITY OF ITS *(a) Political and Social fortunes.*—For although its proper subject-matter was theological ; yet, from the impress left by Mediæval Sacerdotalism upon almost every sphere of human activity, and from the inevitable correspondence, inter-dependence, some times absolute identity, among every Christian people, of secular and spiritual interests, the Reformation also amounted to, or was inextricably bound up with, a most important political, social, moral, literary, even æsthetic crisis.

As such it shared, more or less, the vicissitudes of political circumstances, and the varieties of social and individual organisation and development.

Hence its special character, course, and ultimate fate, considered in this simply temporal aspect, differed greatly in different countries, and among various sections of the same community.

(b) Religious character and results.—But again, even as a religious movement, and with reference to

its effect upon the constitution, creed, worship, discipline, of the Christian Church, in the several countries where it established its sway, it was by no means homogeneous. It is unnecessary here to particularise the numerous causes of this divergence.

Though it may be doubted whether, on the whole, the differences at the time prevalent among the "Reformed" were wider than may be fully accounted for by the very dissimilar spirit in which they addressed themselves to the fundamental question of the Reformation, and the very unequal resources they brought to bear upon it.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF THE REFORMATION.—The solemn problem they were called upon to solve may be thus formulated:—Given, on the one hand, the Bible—on the other, the present state of the Christian World: how can the latter be best brought into essential conformity with the express injunctions or implied sanctions of the former?

This, again, involved two questions:—

(1.) What was to be the nature and extent of the desired Reform?

(2.) By whom, as combining the authority, the proficiency, and the will, requisite for so arduous an undertaking, was it to be carried into effect?

GENERALLY ADMITTED NECESSITY FOR A REFORMATION.—None denied the absolute and immediate necessity for *a* Reformation. But the first steps taken in this direction naturally extended only to the amelioration or removal of the most pressing and glaring evils.

All could see that the licentiousness of the Clergy, and of the Popes themselves, the exactions of the Roman *Curia*, the inordinate wealth and arrogance of the Ecclesiastics, were wrong and pernicious.

Nor did it require any great amount of penetration or learning to discover, that the virtual autocracy long assumed by the Popes over the whole Latin

Church, over national Churches, National Sovereigns, particularly in connection with the unscrupulous employment, for the confirmation of that autocracy, of the fearful weapons of Excommunication and Interdict, were equally opposed to the letter and to the spirit of the Gospel, as well as to the recognised course of early Church History.

THE CONCILIAR SCHEME OF REFORM.—Towards the close of the Middle Age, a growing, at length an imperious, desire was felt for a General Council of the Church, as the proper representative assembly or Constitutional Senate of Latin Christendom. By this convention Ecclesiastical abuses were to be taken into consideration, and searching remedies to be forthwith applied. Such a Council did at last meet. At Constance, and again at Basle, Papal and Sacerdotal immorality, and the extravagant claims of the Holy See engaged deep attention. Much was attempted, something done, for the improvement of the Church, if not for the direct promotion of evangelical religion.

DEFEATED BY THE POPES.—The Hierarchical Reform was in a fair way of accomplishment; but was thwarted, and finally miscarried, mainly through the opposition of the Popes.

The Successors of St. Peter, indeed, both then and subsequently, were the great obstacles to a Reformation. And Adrian VI., who offered a single and bright exception to their general policy, succumbed almost instantaneously under the magnitude and fearfulness of the task that must devolve upon a "Reforming Pontiff."

Meanwhile in England repeated, and to a great extent, successful attempts had been made, by legislative enactments and other means, to resist the Papal tyranny, and to lessen the several evils above adverted to.

COMMENCEMENT OF A NATIONAL CHURCH RE-

FORMATION IN ENGLAND. ANTIPAPAL AND ANTI-SACERDOTAL MEASURES.—In the time of King Henry VIII., the Conciliar Reform of the whole Latin Church was for the present hopeless. The need of a Reformation was more than ever felt. But the "Defender of the Faith," whatever indications he might have given (and he *had* given such) of an inclination to restrict the immunities and power of the Clergy, was at first too zealously, passionately, devoted to the Holy See, for the friends of the inevitable movement to expect any countenance from him. It was not only in his matrimonial relations, however, that "Bluff King Hal" experienced a total revulsion of feeling, and perplexed the world by the characteristic energy with which he pursued opposite lines of conduct. In the present case, it certainly was not without considerable provocation (whatever estimate we may nevertheless form of his personal character and consistency in the matter) that he became, from a chivalrous Champion, so resolute and successful an opponent of the Power his predecessors had so often held in check—the Power which was still limited by the inexorable Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. In the history of the divorce litigation, or in the character of those who conducted the proceedings on the part of the Pope, were epitomised and exemplified most of the glaring abuses that had called forth so much complaint and opposition from former English Sovereigns and Parliaments. The King now once more shared, personified, perhaps exaggerated the strong and hereditary national instinct of jealousy and animosity against Papal intervention in the affairs of his kingdom, and against the innumerable evils it entailed. The patience that had so long sought to palliate the mischief was at length exhausted; and it was determined to cut it away root and branch—to remove the source of it.

Thus the general circumstances of the times, the

personal temper and inclinations of the king, and the national character, co-operated to produce this unsparing attack upon Papal and Sacerdotal assumption, cupidity, corruption.

The attack itself was, of course, in some respects, much more sweeping than the Hierarchical Reforms advocated at Constance and Basle. Yet, as in those cases, it was no mere revolt, no purely wanton exercise of power. It was conducted according to another, and extremely, though not (as has been often assumed) exclusively, English conception of a Constitutional Reform:—namely, that the whole nation as a Realm, comprising Spiritualty and Temporalty, was, and of old had shown itself, competent to administer its Church, as well as its State, affairs, and to effect, in each department, necessary Reforms, without any foreign intermeddling whatever.

THE IDEA OF A CONCILIAR REFORM STILL HAUNTED MANY MINDS.—Yet still the idea of a "Free General Council," which might hereafter "tune the jarring strings of the Christian World," was by no means universally abandoned—was frequently referred to; even after the arrogant pretensions of the *Pseudo* General Council of Trent, and the dismembered condition of Christendom, (split up into separate Churches, each exclusively and jealously devoted to its own more or less peculiar system,) had relegated to a remote and contingent future all prospect of the meeting of such an assembly, or of its obtaining general recognition.

Thus were removed in England the most notorious and offensive corruptions of the Mediæval Church.

EXCESSES AND EXTRAVAGANCES TO BE EXPECTED, FROM THE NATURE OF THE MOVEMENT AS A REACTION.—It would have been strange indeed, especially in such an age, if this earlier, and (so to speak) more external phase of the great reaction had not itself been accompanied by extravagance and

abuse. We are not now concerned to defend, or even to account for, such questionable stretches of regal or parliamentary authority. But it may be desirable to note the fact, that they *were* mainly acts of reprisal. If the royal supremacy was (especially at first) unduly exalted, it had long been, in many important particulars, unduly depressed. If the Clergy and the Monks were pitiably humiliated, and harshly, even cruelly, treated, this was not a little owing to their previous haughtiness, oppression, cruelty; as well as to the fact that they were still busily engaged in endeavouring to restore the old *régime*.

If Church property was ruthlessly plundered and squandered by laymen, had not the laity as a body long been taught, even by some of the more single-minded among the clergy, that they were made the constant and shameless spoil of avaricious priests, and profligate monks and friars? The long-deferred day of reckoning for injustice is wont to be a hard one.

A DOCTRINAL REFORMATION INEVITABLE.—But the movement though it might, and in England particularly did, commence with such measures as have now been alluded to, could not end there, however some, after going thus far, might wish to stop short. The quickened intelligence, the profounder Biblical and historical studies lately entered upon, gradually, very gradually in some respects, revealed to the more thoughtful and learned, and through them to a whole world beyond, the startling truth, that the popular religion was, to a great extent, not only unsanctioned by, but distinctly and emphatically opposed to, the Scriptures, and to the tenets and practices of the early Christian Church.

Indeed, in Germany the controversy early assumed a doctrinal turn, and the Papal Supremacy was not attacked until a late stage of the Indulgence discussions had disclosed the keystone of the fabric assailed by Luther.

But in England also, when the above discrepancy had been once pointed out, an appeal to the Bible, as the standard of faith, discipline, and practice, though it might not immediately ensue, became inevitable; and was further promoted by the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular languages, and their publication in a popular form. The most inveterate and obstructive Roman Catholic could not, without self-condemnation, object to consult what all regarded as the inspired records of the religion in its earliest form. Had then the meaning of the Bible been always clear and undisputed, the first of the two questions that, as has been observed, were raised by the proposition for a Reformation, would have been readily answered; and the nature and extent of the required changes would have been at once determined.

DIFFICULTY IN ASCERTAINING THE SENSE OF SCRIPTURE.—But, as was long after observed by the most philosophic of English Statesmen in recent times:—"The Bible, though a most sacred, is a most multifarious collection of the records of divine economy—a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics; carried through different books, by different authors, at different ages, and, though shaped to the same holy end by the superintending and suggesting Spirit of God, with different purposes in view by the authors themselves. It is necessary to sort out what is intended for example, what only as narrative, what is to be understood literally, what figuratively; where one precept is to be controlled or modified by another; what is said directly, and what as an argument *ad hominem;* what is temporary, and what of eternal obligation; what appropriated to one set of men, and what to the general duty of Christians."*

* Burke. *Speech on the Act of Uniformity.*

HENCE, AN INTERPRETER OF SCRIPTURE NECESSARY.—Thus, to apply this standard successfully, further aid was required.

Was this to be obtained?

HUMAN LEARNING AND SCHOLARSHIP NOT ALONE SUFFICIENT.—Learning, scholarship, general mental cultivation at once suggest themselves. The contrast between scriptural and late mediæval religion, it could not be denied, had been in a great measure disclosed by them. Did not this imply their adequacy to supply the present desideratum? Plausible as the idea might seem, it did not meet with much encouragement even in the era of the "Revival of Letters." The most sensible men, indeed, considered human learning a most important, an indispensable help, to the interpretation of Scripture. Many extreme persons, however, on both sides, regarded it coldly and doubtfully, if not with absolute abhorrence. The "invincibly ignorant" Roman Catholic bore it no good will for its recent handiwork, and the abyss of perilous speculation it seemed to have opened. The unlearned and the fanatic Biblicist mistrusted it as worldly, or scorned and denounced it as profane; and appealed to strong texts, which he proclaimed, with a confidence proportioned to his ignorance, to have been levelled against it. Few could contemplate the history and the issue of the long dominant Scholasticism, or the reveries of the revived Neo-Platonism in Italy, without some misgivings as to the amount of service ultimately to be expected in the way of Biblical interpretation from human learning alone. There was a general impression that it afforded, at least, too purely intellectual a criterion, if unaided and unsanctified by a higher and more distinctively religious influence.

Had such an influence been vouchsafed?

THE HOLY SPIRIT THE INTERPRETER.—No Christian could hesitate to admit, in one form or an-

other, that the Spirit of God was the sure, the promised Interpreter.

THROUGH WHOM?—But who were the human depositaries of this supernatural aid?

It is evident that here we approach closely the second of the two questions that, as we have stated, naturally occurred, immediately that the necessity of a Biblical Reformation was admitted.

That second inquiry was:—By whom is it to be carried out?

Now those who enjoyed the privilege of so mysterious and effective a gift, as that of divine illumination, would obviously be inclined to claim the right of enunciating and determining, if not of giving legal effect to, the requisite changes. Who then were they?

1. ROMAN CATHOLIC VIEW.—The Catholic or Universal Church, said the Romanist, which, in that it is such, possesses the gift of Infallibility, and alone can, and ought to, decide religious questions.

But he meant the Latin Church exclusively; and that however narrowed, however corrupt and fallen. Nor did he clearly determine wherein the Infallibility was vested, whether in the Pope, or in a General Council, or in both conjointly. Meanwhile, the Popes had steadily resisted and turned the edge of Conciliar Reforms; and had set themselves against the movement precisely as it became the more inevitable. And this very claim of Infallibility obviously precluded all concession as to dogmas once formally sanctioned by Rome. While Rome *had* thus committed Herself to much that was anti-primitive and anti-scriptural. Accordingly, when the narrow, but not the less violently-convulsed Assembly at Trent did meet, after the disruption of Western Christendom, it reformed many practical abuses, but stereotyped in the Roman system the greater part of the doctrinal errors that had crept in during the Middle Ages, and perpetuated also many disciplinary griev-

ances more or less essentially connected with he Trentine Formulary of Faith.

2. INDIVIDUALIST VIEW.—A second answer was:—Individual Christians, as thinking, speaking, acting, under spiritual guidance.

But this reference of the matter to a purely internal witness, cognisable by the individual alone, would not only have justified the eccentricities, and (to all but the mystic himself) palpable follies and errors of the extremest mysticism; it was introducing a disintegrating principle, fatal to all permanent existence of a public ecclesiastical body; fatal also, as was clear in the case of the Anabaptists, to the security, if not the existence, of the civil authority, and therewith of society itself.

3. VIRTUAL VIEW OF THE CALVINISTS &C.—A third answer was implied perhaps, and acted on especially at Geneva, rather than distinctly embodied in words.

Learned and able men, "Men of God" like the Jewish Prophets of old, or the early Apostles and Preachers of Christianity, had been providentially raised up to meet the crisis, and to expound, under spiritual aid, the true meaning of the Bible to their obedient National Church, if not to other bodies.

To a certain extent this view of the great Protestant Champions could not but command the assent of their local admirers and disciples, if not of the Reforming party everywhere. But it would have appeared more consistent and irrefragable, had the differences between Luther, Zwingli, Calvin &c., even on points which they themselves considered most important, not to say fundamental, been less extreme and lasting.

GENERAL ESTIMATE OF THESE VIEWS BY THE ENGLISH REFORMERS.—In England on the whole, and in the long run, the tendency of the Church Reformation was to deny the absolute and independent validity of each of the above accounts; to allow

that each was a reflection of a partial, if not a phase of the whole, truth. Accordingly, the endeavour was to assimilate, combine, and act upon these apparently hostile, but, as it was considered, not totally irreconcileable suggestions.

HOW FAR THEY WERE INCLINED TO ADMIT VIEW 1.—As to the first answer:—waiving the question whether the Universal Church at any time could be strictly said to be absolutely infallible; assuming that a particular Church could never lay claim to such infallibility; it appeared clear that while immediate Reform was imperative, the voice of the whole Church—even of the whole Latin Church—was, at present, simply unattainable; but that the Providence of God had watched over, His Spirit interfused in a striking and obvious manner, the early undivided Church; and that Her verdicts wherever pronounced, Her practice wherever ascertainable, must command great reverence; be practically, to say the least, the safest guide to the interpretation of disputed points in Scripture; as for the reason now stated, so for several others, which may be summed up in the maxim, that the stream is likely to be purest near its source.

THEY ACCEPTED THE AID OF SCHOLARSHIP AND LEARNING IN GENERAL.—We may remark, by the way, that the aid of learning and scholarship was here necessarily, as throughout the scheme of the English Church Reformation cordially, accepted.

HOW FAR VIEW 2.—As to the second answer, it was felt, that the individual is conscientiously bound to investigate "the reason of his hope;" that the internal witness of the Spirit must answer to the external testimony of the Church, as now to be carefully ascertained: that otherwise his creed, his religion, is a hollow pretence. But that while ignorance, passion, circumstances, might mislead him into confounding his own peculiarities with that internal

witness, and thus produce a seeming variance between it and the external testimony; yet that there could in reality be no discord between the "two voices;" and if he inquired rightly and far enough, and in the meantime lived conscientiously "up to his light," the harmony would be restored. While, on the other hand, he owed present obedience to his National Church, as well as deference to the large body of Reforming Divines who were engaged in solving the same awful problem as himself, with gifts and resources, cumulatively at least, far superior to his own.

HOW FAR THE INDIVIDUAL WAS TO OBEY THE CHURCH.—But to what extent did he owe this obedience and deference?

This was a question, of course, of peculiar delicacy and difficulty. We can hardly expect to find any very precise theory laid down, much less consistently and undeviatingly acted upon, during the crisis, or even after it was over. But as the movement proceeded, three virtual principles of the following kind appear to have been pretty generally accepted and enforced:—

(1.) On matters not prescribed by the Church, opinion and practice are free.

How great was this concession can only be properly estimated by those who compare the Reformed with the Unreformed Church, and trace out in detail the immense extent to which the former *did* refrain from uttering Her voice, and obtruding Her authority, not merely as to matters of doctrine, but as to the concerns and occupations of daily life.

(2.) On matter non-essential, however important or interesting in themselves, the individual may exert all lawful and constitutional means for impressing on the public mind his own sense of what is right, or even desirable; but he must not, though he may seek to have the law altered, break it while it stands; nor, when in a position that demands his formal recognition of a doctrine or a practice that

has received the public sanction, is he at liberty to reject it.

(3.) He cannot renounce the great fundamental doctrines, received by the Church at large in all ages, or at least the cardinal doctrine of the Trinity, and whatever that necessarily implies, without converting his Christian liberty into license; without, in fact, renouncing his Christianity, and *ipso facto* proving that he is not enlightened by the Spirit of Truth.

On the whole then, as to the extent of private enlightenment, and the consequent relation of the individual to the National Church; the impression seems to have been, that the conscientious Christian would be enabled by the Spirit, not to pronounce with isolated and independent infallibility upon the sense of Scripture, but to assent sincerely and heartily to that interpretation which had from the first been, and was now once more to be, the generally accepted one.

THE SPIRIT NOT ONLY THE INTERPRETER, BUT THE REGENERATOR AND SANCTIFIER.—But that this superhuman aid was bestowed on him also, and at least equally, to produce in him holiness of life. Without this "fruit of faith" dogmatic truths, though in terms admitted, could not be really appreciated ("spiritually discerned"), and were not only worthless, but most perilous.

And this assistance he would now more than ever require, because as the perpetual supervision and all-embracing control of the priesthood were removed; along with the privileges he assumed the responsibilities, and incurred the peculiar dangers, of more independent moral agency.

HOW FAR THE ENGLISH REFORMERS WERE INCLINED TO ADMIT VIEW 3.—With reference to the third answer above given, which represented the great reforming theologians as the authorised, and supernaturally guided expositors of Scripture; here again, the practical and comprehensive English mind was inclined

to consider the statement as at once too broad and too narrow; but still as adumbrating, and with proper qualifications capable of expressing, what was felt to be an unquestionable and most important truth.

The Spirit of God was at length moving, with extraordinary and regenerative influence, upon the face of the long stagnant waters of the Church, and stirring them to their inmost depths.

And some divines there were, active on the side of Reform, who combined more or less pre-eminent moral and spiritual qualifications with conspicuous abilities, learning, and knowledge of the Scriptures. In such men, who that sympathised with the movement would not recognise its true representatives, and natural leaders? Nay more—would not in them discern the decided and visible manifestation and fruits of the divine agency?

But that such men were "inspired" in any wise to the same extent, or in the same manner, as the Prophets and Apostles of old, could not be admitted. Thus the statement was too broad. But it was also too narrow. It implied neglect of the Church at large, of the Church of old, of the individual Christian. The same gracious aid had not been denied to them.

THEY LAID MUCH STRESS ON THE AUTHORITY OF ESTABLISHED INSTITUTIONS.—And once more, it seemed to imply, it would be very likely in practice to involve, what Englishmen have always been peculiarly given to detect and resent—neglect of constituted authorities; a tendency to ignore, override, supersede, the "powers that be," and to forget that they are "ordained of God"; powers of both kinds, in fact, as we have already said they were called at the time, the Spiritualty and Temporalty of the Realm.

ALTHOUGH THE PAPAL POWER HAD BEEN ABOLISHED, AS AN USURPATION.—It may be objected, that they who abolished so summarily, or at least ad-

hered to the abolition of the Papal supremacy, should have been the last to raise such a cavil. But the exception only confirms the rule. The Papal claims had been constantly resisted, checked, regarded throughout as an usurpation, undermined both by law and by public opinion; they had gradually become intolerable; they were at last indignantly and thoroughly repudiated, and by Roman Catholics themselves, and bitter persecutors for the distinctive tents of Romanism. As Bramhall observes, with quaint point:—"Did Roman Catholics themselves find right and sufficient reason to turn the Pope out of England at the foredoor in fair daylight, as an intruder and usurper; and do they expect that Protestants should let him in again by stealth at the back door? It is true Queen Mary afterwards gave him houseroom again in England for a short time. But he raged so extremely, and made such bonfires of poor innocent Christians in every corner of the kingdom, that it is no marvel if they desired his room rather than his company."

THEY HAD UNUSUAL CAUSE THEN TO SUPPORT HEARTILY THE ESTABLISHED AUTHORITIES, IN CHURCH AND STATE.—The reverence for established authorities, however, remained strong in the country; was probably greatly confirmed and strengthened by the fear lest reform should degenerate into revolution; and the purification into the destruction of existing institutions both in Church and State. And the times offered abundant warning that this was no visionary fear. Sectaries, both at home and abroad, had already begun to question the first principles not only of Christianity, but of civil government. The Anabaptists and Levellers had run their wild course. The Pope, though rebuffed, was not unseated from the Throne of St. Peter. The Papal thunders were not silent; they might prove not ineffectual. The Papal party were secretly

plotting or openly agitating for a Counter-Reformation. Amidst such perils a work directly and vitally affecting the temporal as well as spiritual condition and prospects, the political hardly less perhaps than the ecclesiastical relations of Englishmen, was to be conducted, completed, consolidated, in a country where—the Papal intervention apart—Church and State had long been not only most closely united, but, to a great extent, absolutely identified. Nor was there any lack of precedents derived from the most flourishing periods of the Church, for ecclesiastical reforms, and reassertions of primitive doctrine, being inaugurated and authoritatively enunciated by Christian Sovereigns.

THEY DID RECUR TO THEM, TO GUARANTEE AND PERPETUATE THE REFORMATION.—The nation and the Church accordingly fell back upon their several, yet united, constitutional agents, as the organs and ratifiers, if not the originators, of the required changes.

Sovereign, Parliament, Convocation:—these already existed as a fact, with provinces, however liable to confusion and mutual infringement, yet to a certain extent clear, as a fact also, and forming collectively the Supreme Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities of the Christian Realm of England.

4. THE ENGLISH CHURCH REFORMERS' OWN VIEW.—In brief then, combining these several elements to form an answer, as practically given on the whole to our original questions, by those who determined the course of the movement within that Realm:—Let the Reformation be based upon Scripture, as interpreted, where doubtful, by learned, able, and pious Reforming theologians; guided and controlled in their interpretation by the precedents of the early, undivided Church, so far as the latter are attainable by fair historical and moral evidence. Let measures be framed to bring the present Church as far as

possible *(mutatis mutandis)*, into accordance with the requisitions of Scripture, so interpreted; and let these measures be sanctioned by public authority, in Church and State. Lastly, conscientious inquiry, modest appreciation of his own advantages, as compared with those of the many eminent men similarly occupied with himself; faith in Divine assistance as befriending properly conducted public, not less than private investigations; finally, loyalty to the combined institutions in Church and State, under which he finds himself placed by Providence:—all these will jointly commend and certify to the individual the system of reform, proposed to be effected in the manner just stated. Where such is not the result; where the individual is still dissatisfied and unconvinced; the fault must be in himself. He must be insincere, presumptuous, uncharitable, or disloyal.

In that case he cannot justly complain if he is punished; not for the mere act of differing with *a* Church, but for violating so many plain obligations to conform to *such* a Church system, so carefully and temperately framed.

Such appear to have been, in the main, the theory and practice of the English Church Reformation *at the time*.

SUBSEQUENT SPREAD OF PRINCIPLES OF BROADER TOLERATION.—No one at the present day advocates in England persecution or punishment for religious opinions, as such. Some are still disposed to visit with legal penalties religious practices that they consider involve immediate or remote danger to the established Constitution in Church and State. Many would withhold offices of responsibility from those, who, by their stand-point as inferred from their avowed principles, appear *ipso facto* incapable of fully and conscientiously discharging the duties of those offices. All would admit that there *is* a cer-

tain point—however difficult it may be to determine in a particular case precisely where that point is—at which it becomes absolutely necessary to "restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evildoers," whether sheltering themselves under the plea of conscience and religion, or under any other less solemn but not more mischievous pretext.

PRESENT VIEWS OF CHURCHMEN AS TO THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE "SECULAR ARM."—Churchmen themselves now feel that, granting the politico-religious body of which they are members—the English province of that Kingdom which is *in* this world and yet not *of* this world—was reformed on the right pattern, and by the proper authorities; and granting also, that between such a reform and any individual disposed to question its correctness, the balance of probability is immensely on the side of the National Church:—yet that men must be dealt with as they are, not as they ought to be:—that ignorance, dulness, a bad life, idiosyncracy of mental or moral constitution, still more early education in a dissenting community,* may actually, whether they ought to do so or not, render an individual unwilling, if not unable, to accept the Church system.

That in such a case, to exact compliance, or an affectation of compliance, by legal penalties, is at once a crime and a mistake, and tends to destroy religion altogether.

That therefore, however obligatory the claims of the established Church upon the allegiance of the individual may be *in foro conscientiæ;* and however strongly he may still be bound to take them fairly, fully, and seriously into account as one great *fact*, one powerful element, in determining his religious

* Which, of course, raises on the other side a *primâ facie* argument as to providential position.

convictions and practice: yet, after all, his adhesion or dissidence must be left to himself; and *if* he continue to dissent up to his last hour, none but the unerring eye of God can discern whether, and to what extent, he may really deserve censure;—none but the all-righteous Judge presume to absolve or punish the recusant.

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TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

[*From Sir* HARRIS NICHOLAS' *Chronology of History.*]

A. D.	England.	France.	Germany.	Papal States.	Russia.	Spain.	Scotland.
1422	Henry VI.	Charles VII.	..	..	..	..	..
1440	..	..	Fred. III.	..	..	..	..
1447	..	..	..	Nicholas V.	..	..	..
1454	..	..	..	..	..	Henry IV. (*Cast.*)	..
1455	..	..	..	Calixtus III.	..	..	..
1458	..	..	..	Pius II.	..	..	..
1460	..	..	..	..	..	..	James III.
1461	Edward IV.	Louis XI.	..	..	..	..	..
1462	..	..	..	..	Iwan Wasilej I.	..	..
1464	..	..	..	Paul II.	..	..	..
1471	..	..	..	Sixtus IV.	..	..	..
1474	..	..	..	..	..	Ferdinand II. and Isabella of *Cast.*	..
1479	..	..	..	..	..	Ferdinand II. the Catholic, A. Eleanor, N. Francis Phœbus, N.	..
1483	Edward V.	Charles VIII.	..	..	..	Catherine, Nav.	..
	Richard III.	..	..	..	..	..	..
1484	..	..	..	Innocent VIII.	..	..	..
1485	Henry VII.	..	..	..	..	..	..
1488	..	..	..	..	..	..	James IV.
1492	..	..	..	Alexander VI.	..	..	..
1493	..	..	Maximilian I.	..	..	..	..
1498	..	Louis XII.	..	..	..	..	..
1503	..	..	..	Pius III.	..	..	..
	..	..	..	Julius II.	..	..	..
1505	..	..	..	..	Wasilej IV.	..	..
1509	Henry VIII.	..	..	..	..	..	..
1513	..	..	..	Leo X.	..	..	James V.
1515	..	Francis I.	..	..	..	..	..
1516	..	..	..	..	..	Charles I.	..
1519	..	..	Charles V.	..	..	Emperor Charles V.	..
1522	..	..	..	Adrian VI.	..	..	..
1523	..	..	..	Clement VII.	..	..	..
1533	..	..	..	..	Iwan Wasilejvitch.	..	..
1534	..	..	..	Paul III.	..	..	..
1542	..	..	..	..	..	..	Mary.
1547	Edward VI.	Henry II.	..	..	..	..	..
1550	..	..	..	Julius III.	..	..	..
1553	Mary.	..	..	..	..	..	..
1555	..	..	..	Marcellinus II.	..	..	..
1556	..	..	..	Paul IV.	..	Philip II.	..
1558	Elizabeth.	..	Ferdinand I.	..	..	..	..

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